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Prague, June 1971

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DIRECTIVES OF THE XIV CONGRESS OF THE KSČ ON
THE 5th FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT OF
THE NATIONAL ECONOMY FROM 1971 TO 1975

The victory of the working class, consummated by the February events of 1948, opened up the road to Czechoslovakia's socialist development. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, our economy embarked upon the path of planned reconstruction and rapid advance. The creation of socialist relations of production, the alliance and co-operation with the USSR and other socialist countries and the application of centralized planned management made it possible within an historically short period, to create a powerful material and technical base of socialism. The more than 3.5-fold growth of the national income as compared with the pre-war level made it possible to raise personal consumption three times in the period from 1948 to 1970. We have achieved gains as can be offered only by the socialist social system.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic ranks among the advanced countries of the world with the high volume of its national income per capita, the technically advanced industry and building industry, intensive agricultural large-scale production, the density of the network of communications and the relatively extensive scientific and research base. Essential disparities in the economic level of individual regions of the country as well as in the living standard between towns and villages have been eradicated. The social security system embraces all sections of the population. The educational level of the population, the system of schools, cultural facilities

and medical and hygienic care are of a high standard and their services are to a great extent granted free of charge.

The complex work of socialist construction, which was performed under conditions of sharp struggle against imperialist subversion and which involved the solution of entirely new problems, was not achieved without certain shortcomings and difficulties. The difficulties in economic development appeared most markedly at the beginning of the 'sixties.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia adopted a number of measures to rectify the situation. Inconsistency in their implementation and lack of ideological firmness on the part of the Party leadership of that time made way for destructive activities of rightist and anti-socialist forces which culminated in 1968 and at the beginning of 1969 in a revision and disruption of the basic principles of the management of socialist society and the economy.

The resolute measures, adopted after April 1969, in order to strengthen the leading role of the Party and of the socialist State, in management of the national economy, brought a stop to the crisis development of the economy.

The Party highly appreciates the support which its policy has met with among the working people. The correctness of this policy is confirmed by the results achieved in the fulfilment of the plan in 1970 as well as in the start made for 1971; its success is being enhanced by pledges and emulation in honour of the 50th anniversary of the Party and its 14th Congress.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, proceeding from historical experience and results attained, will lead our Republic to further growth and prosperity. The aims of its economic policy for the next five years are expressed in the Directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan.

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AFTER
THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE KSČ

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set the tasks for further economic development at a time when the economy had in essence already overcome the stagnation caused by the disintegration of the basic proportions of the third Five-Year Plan. It orientated economic development on strengthening its proportionality, on more intensive application of scientific and technological achievements in economic practice and on the realization of such structural changes which would contribute not only to expanding the requisite branches of production but also to greater specialization, to saving material and human labour and to more effective employment of production facilities. More favourable conditions for economic growth and for raising economic effectiveness were to be created also by the improved system of planned management.

Economic development from 1966 to 1970 went on in exceptionally complicated conditions.

In 1966 to 1967, efforts to speed up the rate of development were markedly evident: industrial output annually increased by an average of 7.2 per cent, agricultural production by 8.4 per cent and the national income by 7.2 per cent. Resources were distributed basically in harmony with their formation.

Successful economic development in 1966 was also assisted by the improvement of the system of planned management according of the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of January 1965. In particular, greater attention was given by working people to questions of economization and utilization of internal reserves accumulated in the preceding period.

Increased formation of material resources as well as the favourable development of basic relations in the national economy were not, however, accompanied by the necessary concentration of means on the solution of certain serious problems of economic development.

This was most markedly reflected in the fuel and power base. The restriction of investment activity for its further expansion caused serious defects in fuel and power supplies. Their elimination will call for considerable funds and efforts in future years.

The reconstruction of wholesale prices which came into force on January 1, 1967 had an unfavourable effect; among other things, it enabled a great part of enterprises to create undeserved financial resources, which lessened their attention to economization and resulted in a slackening of wages discipline and in excessive investments. Consequently, unsound pressures began to appear in the economy and unfavourable tendencies were created for development in further years.

The political crisis, the growing influence of rightist-opportunist and anti-socialist views on further economic development in 1968 and at the beginning of 1969 considerably disrupted the socialist system of centralized planned economic management and proportional development of the economy.

As a consequence of the chaotic and inflationary development, relations between the State and enterprises were fundamentally impaired, as well as the basic proportions between the formation and the use of the national income, and relations between the growth of productivity of labour and average wages. The fast growth of nominal wages did not contribute to greater differentiation in remuneration for work done nor to greater material interest in the results of work.

On the contrary, under conditions of weakened working morale and under the influence of the growth of retail-prices, there was increased pressure for further adjustments of wages. New tendencies towards wage-levelling appeared. The growth of retail prices hit most strongly families with several children and old-age pensioners.

Incomes of the population increased in 1968 and 1969 by more than 11 per cent per year, the cost of living went up roughly by 2.5 per cent per year. At the same time, however, the average annual increment in industrial output - as compared with 1966 and 1967 - amounted to a mere 5.3 per cent.

The fast growth of personal consumption, which exceeded the growth of national income, resulted in an intensive deterioration of the equilibrium of the home market and in serious irregularities in supplies to the population.

Inflationary, spontaneous development in capital construction resulted in an increase of expenditure on investments in 1968 by 10 per cent and in 1969 by as much as 17 per cent. The volume of uncompleted projects was rising constantly and the pace at which new capacities were put into operation was slowing down. The concrete structure of capital construction deviated from original intentions.

The disturbance of internal proportions was transferred to external economic relations. Current import requirements were ensured over and above the volume of available resources created by exports.

Economic development was increasingly influenced by theories of market economy, prices were rising at an inflationary rate, there was spontaneous movement of manpower. Group interests were asserting themselves to a considerable extent and speculation was growing. Working discipline and morale were deteriorating.

The new leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after April 1969 had first of all to bring a halt to this crisis development. The Implementation Directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of May 1969 laid down resolute measures by which the country was led out of the political crisis and economic chaos. It was necessary, in political struggle, to defeat the rightist and anti-socialist forces, to overcome revisionist theories, to restore disrupted State and economic management and central planning, and to concentrate attention on mobilizing reserves for the growth of production. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia proceeded from the principle that the situation which had arisen must not be solved at the expense of the living standard but only by expanding the creation of material resources.

The results attained in economic development in the second half of 1969 and especially in 1970 prove that the purposeful economic policy of the new leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was successful. The leading role of the Party in the economy was restored. The national economic State plan again became the basis for managing the process of socialist expanded reproduction. A barrier was erected against inflationary development, the home market calmed down and confidence was restored in the stability of the currency.

In 1970, planned targets were exceeded in industry and the increment in output was fully covered by the growth in productivity of labour. The development of monetary incomes of the population was in keeping with the creation of values. Global harmony was reached between the demand of the population and supplies of goods, stocks of the home market, which had been exhausted in the preceding years, were replenished and their structure also partially improved. Adjustments were made in pensions and maternity grant were introduced. In

capital construction, it was possible to keep an economically tolerable extent, to regulate the branch structure and to stop the growth in the volume of uncompleted projects. For the first time, more than 100,000 flats were built in one year. Planned agricultural production was fulfilled as a whole. There was a marked improvement in results of foreign trade although the consequences of the adverse development in 1968 and 1969 could be eliminated only in part.

In this way, a favourable starting-base was created for entering the fifth Five-Year Plan period. The economic results in the period of consolidation at the same time favourably influenced the overall economic results from 1966 to 1970.

Economic development from 1966 to 1970 was very uneven. After a relatively favourable start, the activity of the rightist opportunist forces resulted not only in wasting the possibilities of more intensive national economic development but, on the contrary, spontaneity and lack of conception brought the economy to the verge of a severe crisis. This was averted only by the purposeful and resolute steps taken by the new leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It measures made a relatively rapid improvement in the economic situation possible.

From 1966 to 1970, the national income increased roughly by 39 per cent. In spite of the rate of growth attained, effective national economic development was not achieved to the required extent and its long-term structural problems and proportional development could not be effectively solved. Utilization of the fund of working-hours in industry declined. There was also a deterioration in the employment of fixed assets. The rate of shifts worked in the engineering industry declined from 1.31 to 1.24.

Industrial output increased by 39 per cent, productivity of labour went up by 29 per cent and average wages by 33

per cent. The share of the engineering and chemical industry further increased, in the fuel and power base there was a rise in the role of liquid and gaseous fuels, and the consumer goods industry managed to adapt itself better to needs than in preceding years. Technical progress began to be applied to a greater extent in industry, the building industry and transport.

Agriculture has become an important stabilizing factor of the economy. As compared with the preceding five-year period, its production increased over the past five years by 19 per cent. This fast growth was made possible by larger deliveries of artificial fertilizers, by expansion of efficient varieties of agricultural crops and development of the fodder industry. An important role was also played by improved economic conditions. A permanent problem is still the unfavourable age-structure of workers; the decline in the labour force was not compensated enough in advance by modern technology and equipment.

The economy of the Slovak Socialist Republic was in 1968 to 1970 growing at a faster rate than the economy of the Czech Socialist Republic. This brought the economic level of the Slovak Socialist Republic even closer to that of the Czech Socialist Republic. The share of the Slovak Socialist Republic in the industrial output of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic increased from 21 per cent to 24 per cent and in agricultural production from 30 per cent to 32 per cent. In 1965, industrial output of the Slovak Socialist Republic per head of the population amounted to 59 per cent of the output of the Czech Socialist Republic, in 1970 it rose to as much 69 per cent, from 1961 to 1965 agricultural production averaged 98 per cent and in 1970 already, as much as 104 per cent of the output attained in the Czech Socialist Republic; employment grew faster in the Slovak Socialist Republic than in the Czech Socialist Republic; the number of workers

in agriculture and forestry declined and the proportion of workers in industry, the building industry and other branches increased.

In the period from 1966 to 1970, there was a substantial growth in the standard of living in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Personal consumption of the population increased by 30 per cent, the volume of products and services provided to the population free of charge within the framework of social consumption went up by nearly 50 per cent.

Weekly working-time was reduced and a five-day working-week was generally introduced. This, at a free time of two days running per week, substantially extended the leisure time of the working people.

In harmony with the principles of a rational diet, a greater part in consumption is taken up by foodstuffs of animal origin while consumption of cereals and sugar has declined. Meat consumption per head of the population in 1970 was roughly 72 kg; consumption of milk increased by 17 per cent and of eggs by 13 per cent. The market was enriched by supplies of new textile and clothing industry products of better quality.

The housing situation was improved by the construction of 435 000 flats, better facilities at new residential estates, increased maintenance of the housing fund and its modernization. New flats are, on average, more spacious (41.1 sq.m. in 1969 as compared with 37.5 sq.m. in 1964) and are better equipped inside. The expansion of individual construction of family houses was promoted by the gradual creation of a wide range of financial and material aid schemes, e.g. loans, State contributions, tax concessions, simplified procedures in granting building licences, priority supplies of material, and so on.

There has been an improvement in the equipping of households, for example, in 1965 refrigerators existed in 30 per cent of all households and by 1970 they were already in about 60 per cent., in 1965 there were television sets in 51 per cent of all homes, and in almost 75 per cent by 1970. In the past few years motorism has rapidly risen: in 1960 every twentieth family possessed a car, and by 1970 there was one car in almost every sixth family.

As compared with 1965, average net annual nominal wages increased by 4 000 Czechoslovak crowns and the net income per worker in agricultural co-operatives went up by roughly 6 000 crowns. In this way, the average net cash income per worker of agricultural co-operatives came close to 88 per cent of the incomes of other workers and employees and the total income (including one-half of the yields derived from private plots of land) was equal to the incomes of other workers and employees.

A number of measures were adopted in order to improve social security. Low pensions were further increased and pensions of members of the resistance movement and of co-operative farmers were adjusted. Through amendments to the regulations concerning pensions of co-operative farmers the number of recipients of these pension rose by 204,000. On the basis of these measures, pensioners received 4 000 million crowns more in 1970 than in 1965.

Many improvements have been made also in health insurance of employees and members of agricultural co-operatives. Paid maternity leave has been extended from 22 to 26 weeks, allowances paid during maternity leave have been raised to 90 per cent of net wages and the special grant at child-brith has been raised to 1 000 crowns. In addition, a contribution amounting to 500 crowns per month is paid to all employed mothers of two or more children who, after exhausting their maternity leave, take care of a child outside employment up

to its reaching one year. Children's allowances have been increased. These measures have raised the incomes of these groups of the population by 3 000 million crowns per year.

II. BASIC ORIENTATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TASKS IN 1971 - 1975

Economic development in 1971 - 1975 will be a stage in which the material resources of society will be extended still further and socialist relations of production will be strengthened. During this stage, important projects will be realized which will make a further quantitative and qualitative growth of productive forces possible and, on this basis, a further rise in the living standard of the people. The plan for this period, the first Five-Year Plan of the Czechoslovak Federation, will cement the coexistence of our nations and nationalities and ensure a further step in the integration of our economy within the framework of the socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union.

Main Aim of Development - Growth in the Standard of Living

The main aim of the programme of the economic policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the forthcoming period up to 1975 is to ensure, in harmony with the socialist way of life, a greater satisfaction of the needs of the population and a further strengthening of the securities of existence of the working people, to be achieved on the basis of a permanent expansion and growth of the effectiveness of social production.

The rising material wealth of society will make it possible to raise material consumption and to develop services, to improve the housing situation, to extend the care

of society for children and pensioners, to improve working environment, to improve hygiene at work and medical care for employees right at their places of work, to ameliorate living environment in towns and villages. This all-round care for citizens demonstrates the advantages of the humanistic aspects of socialist society over capitalist society.

The Key to Development - Higher Economic Effectiveness

The main aim has been determined on the basis of the level attained in the development of productive forces and of the expectation of permanent growth of the economy. Its realization depends, in particular, on how we shall be able to make better use of our national wealth and increase it. The tasks are all the more demanding since the economy has already mostly exhausted its extensive sources of growth and cannot base its further rise on raising the number of workers, the number of which are limited, nor on further disproportionate growth in the consumption of raw materials, fuels and power. At the same time, however, the economy has considerable reserves for raising productivity of labour and effectiveness in the form of high consumption of material, insufficient use of fixed assets and manpower.

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers the main, objectively necessary road of development to be an overall growth in the effectiveness of the Czechoslovak national economy. The key to this is, first of all, intensification of all factors of economic growth and an improved level of management. In the next five-year period, we shall, on the basis of the results attained, continue to pursue a policy of reasonable and realistic but at the same time demanding development.

It is therefore necessary to orientate economic development in the individual branches of the national economy in such a way as to achieve a growth in national income of

about 28 per cent, and at the same time to ensure that at least 95 per cent of its increment will be achieved by a growth in social productivity of labour. The structure and growth of the economy must be orientated so as to improve the rhythmic functioning of production, to reduce the demands of production on raw materials, fixed assets and manpower and to eliminate tension in foreign trade.

The programme of capital construction must be fixed in keeping with real possibilities and potentialities of the economy so as to reduce the volume of uncompleted projects. Therefore the share of investments in the national income must be stabilized to within 29 - 30 per cent.

Further expansion of the national economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is to be based on all-round utilization of the natural and economic conditions of the two Republics. It is necessary to link up with the results attained and to carry on the process of equalizing the economic level of the Slovak and the Czech Socialist Republics.

In order to achieve a further growth of material resources and to ensure higher effectiveness of production, it is necessary:

1. To orientate all links of economic management on making more effective use of the production base and the abilities and high qualifications of working people, especially

- on better utilization of working hours and manpower resources; to proceed from the fact that the high rate of employment of the population and the substantially slower growth of manpower resources make it imperative to rationally distribute workers among the various branches, areas and enterprises, to make better use of the qualifications of workers and to improve the organization of the working process;

- on higher effectiveness of fixed production assets, by increased output and shift-work; not allowing production capacities to expand where existing plants especially in the engineering industry, are not sufficiently utilized;
- on marked economization in the consumption of all kinds of fuels, power, raw materials and others and their more profitable utilization; introducing order into standardization of their consumption; achieving economy mainly in the design of products, through changes in technology of production, the use of new materials and the full use of secondary raw materials;
- on improving the technical level and quality of products and the adaptability of production to the needs of domestic and foreign buyers; purposefully regulating technical progress by the State plan of scientific and technical development, by a price policy stimulating progressive products, by the activities of authorized testing stations, by scientific quality control as well as by other means offered by science, research and modern methods of management. Developing still further technical normalization, typization and unification.

The growth of economic effectiveness and intensification of the production process is to be actively influenced by the State plan, managing activities and financial price, credit, wage and foreign exchange conditions.

The demanding aims of intensive economic development are to be attained by way of comprehensive socialist rationalization which must become the basis of the entire system of managing activity at all levels in ensuring the targets set by the plan.

Rationalization efforts are to be concentrated on consistently improving the organization of work, production, management and administration. The basic framework for them is created by the entire system of planned management and the factual aims of the plan. Rationalization programmes in enterprises are to be concentrated mainly on economic use of power and metals, on rationalization of material handling, transport and storage processes, as well as on rationalizing the information system, especially by using computer equipment.

In the course of elaborating production and financial plans, the tasks of raising effectivity must be formulated in absolutely concrete terms, in every branch and enterprise. The reality of these tasks must be based upon a system of concrete measures in technology, technique, structure and quality of the production programmes, organisation of work and its rationalization.

2. To consider the further expansion of science and technology as one of the basic factors of the qualitative development of the national economy.

The technical policy of the State and the work of the research and development basis are to concentrate on the solution of research and development programmes of decisive importance for which we have the creative prerequisites and possibilities of economic application. In particular, it is necessary to solve problems of electronics, computer equipment and automation, chemization of the national economy, the power economy, rationalization of agriculture and food production, changes in the material basis for building and the development of new materials in general, raising the technical level of transport and material handling and, last but not least, raising the technical and economic level of engineering products.

In keeping with the needs of the national economy and of social practice, basic research is to be concentrated on selected problems in which Czechoslovak science can make a contribution to the joint efforts of the socialist countries.

It is necessary to make better use than in the past of the extensive scientific and research base built up in previous years, to intensify co-ordination starting from the assignment of scientific and research tasks up to their realization, to make wider use of the possibilities of international scientific and technical co-operation with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union, and to direct licensing policy purposefully and effectively.

Attention is to be given to providing better technical equipment to the research base and to the qualitative composition of scientific cadres; the research and development base is to be developed as a uniform system of places of work over the entire territory of the State.

3. To continue concentrating and specializing production and to change its structure progressively in plants, enterprises and economic production units, as well as in the entire economy.

At all levels of management conditions are to be ensured for a systematic reconstruction and renewal of the productive and technical base, for a fast growth of the technical level of production and productivity of labour.

In industry, means are to be concentrated on the realization of selected essential development programmes, on specialization and concentration of production; at the same time, it is necessary to narrow down the range of products.

In agriculture, it is necessary to consistently push through intensification of production, to increasingly develop industrial methods of production and organisation of work, to concentrate and specialize agricultural production,

especially co-operation among agricultural enterprises. While taking full advantage of scientific and technical progress, and of the initiative and experience of co-operative farmers and workers of State farms, it is necessary to mobilize internal reserves in production, achieve a substantial growth in productivity of labour, make effective use of fixed assets and reduce production costs.

It is necessary to prepare and realize programmes for restricting production which is non-perspective and little effective. Released manpower and production capacities are to be used primarily for essential development programmes, especially in the engineering industry.

4. To intensify international socialist economic integration, especially with the Soviet Union.

Structural changes in the national economy are to be carried out in such a way that, in harmony with the decisions of the 23rd and the 24th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, they should lead to more profound participation of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labour and that they be realized as part of the process of socialist economic integration. In this connection, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the decisive selected development programmes of industry are by their size and importance surpassing the framework of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, since the most favourable economic results can be achieved only by substantially raising the size of production units and extent of series production. By further extension of international co-operation, prerequisites are to be created for ensuring long-term supplies of fuels, power, basic raw materials and other material required.

III. INDUSTRY

The expansion of industrial production in the fifth Five-Year Plan must form decisive conditions for a progressive growth of the technical and economic level of the national economy, ensure satisfaction of the demanding internal needs of socialist society, which include also stabilization and greater effectiveness of external economic relations. This especially involves

- restoration of proportional development of the fuel and power base with the aim of raising the share of refined types of energy;
- development of the raw materials and material basis, orientated especially on modern, mainly chemical materials besides the conventional materials;
- production of machines, equipment and apparatuses ensuring a high level of social productivity of labour and effectiveness of exports;
- production of consumer goods meeting the high demands of the population and flexible reaction to changes in the demands of the population.

In the programme of industrial development decisive importance is accorded to an exacting quality orientation towards the dynamic growth of technically and economically progressive branches and production programmes which favourably affect the all-round character and microstructure of industry, its effectiveness and ability to adapt itself to the exacting demands of the home market and export. The construction of the materials base will concentrate mainly on a consistent modernisation of the structure of industry.

In the expansion of industrial production, it is necessary to attain a substantial increase of effectiveness by a growth in labour productivity, by high economization in the consumption of fuels, power, raw materials and other materials, by better use and modernization of means of production and by an overall improvement in the level of management. In this connection, it is necessary to perfect operational and working regimes, to create conditions for raising labour discipline, and by proper and timely preparation of production to improve working conditions by more marked expansion of the care of working people. It is necessary to give much greater attention to economical use of the existing fixed assets, especially to use capacities more intensively and over a greater period of time, to see to their renewal and modernization while, at the same time, eliminating physically and morally worn equipment more quickly.

It is necessary to raise industrial output (including the food industry) by 34 to 36 per cent and productivity of labour by 30 to 32 per cent; to intensify the participation of Czechoslovakia's industry in the international division of labour, especially in the engineering and chemical industry, to raise exports of industrial products by about 44 per cent and to raise the volume of supplies for the market funds by at least one quarter, while improving the technical level and quality of consumer goods.

1. Fuels and Power

It is necessary to renew smooth supplies of fuel and power to the national economy, while consistently adhering to consumer - supplier discipline. To achieve this, it is necessary to ensure, by way of production and imports, an increment in primary power resources of at least 19 per cent and in electrical power resources of 37 per cent. The struct-

ure of the fuel and power base must be improved by a faster introduction of refined forms of power into the national economy; the share of liquid fuels and natural gas is to be raised to roughly 30 per cent of the overall primary power resources. The increment in fuel consumption by the population is to be concentrated on refined forms of power and the share of direct combustion of coal is to be reduced.

Consumption of fuels and power is to be rationalized in all branches and sectors of the national economy. It is necessary to introduce modern technologies of production and technically more perfect appliances which reduce specific fuel and power consumption, to ensure the reconstruction of power installations, especially of outdated boilers, and to strengthen technological discipline in power plants.

In 1975, it is necessary to produce at least 115 to 118 million tons of coal and lignite, of which the output of brown coal and lignite alone is to reach 87 to 90 million tons, and to ensure the expansion of the coking industry. Mining of brown coal is to be developed especially in the district of Most. Open-cast mining is to be extended by the use of efficient mechanization with high technical and economic parameters and conditions are to be created in time for the expansion of mine working. Attention is to be concentrated on the construction of the new open-cast coal mines Březno, Most and Maxim Gorki.

Construction of distribution systems ensuring smooth supplies of lighting gas and natural gas is to be continued. Lighting gas is to be gradually replaced by natural gas and, in order to meet peak consumption, sufficient capacities are to be gradually created for production and storage of gas. One of the important projects of the Five-Year Plan is to be the construction of the Czechoslovak section of the international transit gas-pipeline which will carry natural gas from the USSR to West European countries, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

In 1975, it is necessary to produce 62,000 to 63,000 million kWh of electricity, to put new electrical power capacities into operation with a total output of roughly 3,700 MW to be predominantly equipped with large power units.

It will be necessary to eliminate, without delay, shortcomings in projecting new electrical power capacities and to raise responsibility at all levels of management for their completion according to schedule. It is necessary to greatly improve the technical and economic indices of the operation of the electrification system, especially to reduce specific fuel consumption for the generating power to less than 40 gmp/kWh, in power plants controlled by the Ministry of Fuels and Power.

In co-operation with the USSR, construction is to begin of two more nuclear-power plants with a total output of 1,600 to 1,800 MW. Project designs are to be prepared for the construction of nuclear power plants after 1975.

By the construction of pumped storage hydro-power plants at Liptovská Mara and Dalešice capacities are to be built up for improving power supply at peak loads. Construction of another peak-load hydro-electric power plant is to be started on the river Černý Váh.

Centralized supply of heat to cities is to be expanded and thermal power stations are to be built, especially in Prague, Bratislava, Brno, Plzeň, Liberec. The power plant of Opatovice is to be reconstructed for supplying heat to Hradec Králové and Pardubice.

It is necessary to ensure the planned development and renewal of the power distribution network, so as to improve the quality of electricity supplies.

2. Metallurgical Industry

In ferrous metallurgy , better use is to be made of existing large-capacity blast furnaces and, through gradually raising the metal content of domestic iron ores and iron ores, concentrates and pellets imported from the USSR, increase the output of pig iron to about 8.8 million tons. Specific coke consumption is to be reduced from 613 kg to roughly 530 kg per ton of pig iron.

Steel production is to be raised to 14 million tons, the quality of the steel and the economic parameters of its production are to improve. The East Slovak Iron and Steel Works (VSŽ) in Košice is to be completed and the share of converter steel is to be raised from the present 18 per cent to 27 per cent. The construction of the new electric-steel plant at Dřín is to raise the output of steel, especially of alloyed steels, which will allow little effective production in the outdated shops of the SONP steel works of Kladno to be discontinued.

In 1975, it is necessary to produce 9.7 million tons of rolled material. The rolling mills are to be more specialized and the share of the output of refined materials is to be increased. The share of the output of metal sheet steel strips and flat steel is to be raised from 38 per cent to 49 per cent while a substantial increase is to be achieved in the production of transformer sheets, container sheet, auto body sheet, tinned sheet and galvanized sheet. Technical conditions are to be consistently created for the realization of the constructional intentions of the processing industry aimed at economizing with ferrous metals. Construction of a medium-section mill is to be started at the Šverma Iron and Steel Works.

Production of tubes is to be raised to 1.3 to 1.4 million tons, especially in the newly-built capacities of VTŽ Chomutov, VSŽ Košice and SŽ Podbrezová; special attention is to be given to the production of precision tubes and seamless tubes of alloyed steel. The proportion of welded tubes in total tube production is to be raised to 35 per cent.

The output of castings and forgings is to be expanded, especially by reconstruction and greater specialization of production. Attention will concentrate on those types of castings and forgings which will make it possible to reduce metal consumption and expenditure of labour in engineering production.

In all metallurgical enterprises, efforts must be made to improve organization of work, bring about greater order and technological discipline, reduce the amount of rejects, save power and raw materials used for charges, and make maximum use of scrap metal.

Special attention will be paid to the effective utilisation of the domestic base of raw materials and to economizing the production and treatment of ores and magnesite.

It is necessary to consistently improve the utilisation of blast-furnace and steel plant slag, particularly in the building industry and agriculture, to ensure development of the production of progressive metallurgical materials so as to reduce costs of capital constructions and maintenance work, especially by producing light-weight sections, broad-flange girders and so on.

3. Engineering Industry

Engineering production is to be raised by at least 45 per cent. In harmony with the exacting needs of domestic construction and modernization of the production base of the

entire national economy and with the demands of foreign customers, there should be a substantial improvement in technical and economic parameters and in conditions related to the delivery of all engineering products.

Efforts are to be made to substantially improve the structure of engineering production; it is necessary to prepare in a complex way and give priority in implementing, especially the following technically demanding essential development programmes:

- semi-conductor, electronic and high-voltage equipment, computer equipment, measuring, regulation and control equipment for industrial use and modern telecommunication system; production of semi-conductor electronic and micro-electronic equipment should be raised about five times and production of facilities for computer equipment about three times;
- expansion of the production of progressive, especially numerically controlled machine tools, forming machines and machine systems for assembly and finishing operations as well as flexible automatic engineering production lines; production of machine-tools is to be raised by at least 50 per cent;
- provision of progressive agricultural equipment, especially for complex mechanization in crop and animal production, as well as of tractors, trailers, semi-trailers and trailer trucks; in 1971 to 1975, it is necessary to produce 160,000 tractors including spare-parts and the output of agricultural machines is to be raised by 35 per cent;
- expansion of the production of lorries and cars;
- provision of complete technological equipment for open-cast and underground coal mining, supplies of power in-

stallations for power plants and co-operation in the production of equipment for nuclear power plants;

- expansion of the production of machinery for the textile, leather-working, footwear, rubber and plastics industries; the output of top-quality textile, leather-working and footwear machines is to be raised by 70 to 73 per cent;
- expansion of the production of building and road-building machines.

The participation of the Czechoslovak engineering industry in the international division of labour is to be raised by more intensive creation of conditions for an expansion of specialization and mutual co-operation and for gradual integration of production with the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. In this way, conditions are to be created for a faster growth of deliveries for exports in comparison with the growth of engineering production. In exports, it is necessary to concentrate especially on products of essential development programmes and on other progressive engineering production.

The needs of the population are to be better satisfied by increased production of types of engineering consumer goods which are in short supply. One of the main tasks of the engineering industry is the production of a sufficient quantity and assortment of spareparts and to consistently overcome the unsatisfactory practice existing in this sphere for many years, servicing and repair services are to be markedly expanded and improved.

Means of investment are to be concentrated with priority on giving support to production programmes that will solve progressive structural changes in the engineering industry; an important place will be held by the expansion of lorry and

car production. The share of the volume of deliveries of numerically controlled machines in total domestic deliveries of machine tools for capital construction is to be raised to more than 20 per cent in 1975.

Complex socialist rationalization, modernization of machinery and appropriate distribution of the production programme in existing plants is to create conditions under which the further growth of engineering production will not, in principle, necessitate an increase in the present total number of workers. The employment of fixed assets is at the same time to be intensified by more marked liquidation of outdated equipment.

4. Chemical Industry

The use of chemical products is to be expanded in all branches of the national economy as an important condition for raising social productivity of labour. The output of the chemical industry is to be raised by 55 to 60 per cent.

Development investments are to be concentrated especially in the oil-processing and the petrochemical industry. In the last year of the fifth Five-Year Plan, 17 to 18 million tons of crude oil are to be processed and at the same time conditions are to be created for a further expansion of the processing capacities after 1975.

The output of polyamide, polyester and polypropylene synthetic fibres is to be raised to about 60 000 tons, i.e. more than double, production of synthetic plastic leather with hygienic properties is to be introduced and in this way, the raw material base is to be expanded for the consumer industry.

In 1975, it is necessary to produce over 500 000 tons of plastics, i.e. about twice as much as in 1970, and to include in their production range a high share of thermoplastics,

especially PVC, polyethylene and polypropylene. The use of plastics is to be raised especially in wrapping technology, in the engineering and building industries.

The output of granulated multi-component fertilizers is to be raised at least 2.5 times as compared with 1970.

The output of tyres for cars and lorries is to be raised by at least 70 per cent.

In the course of the fifth Five-Year Plan period, further long-range expansion is to be prepared for the production of medicaments, agrochemicals, organic dyes and auxiliary chemical materials.

5. Forestry and Woodworking

A substantial improvement is to be attained in complex use of timber, especially of deciduous timber reserves in the Slovak Socialist Republic, and conditions are to be created for processing hitherto unused types of timber waste. Attention is to be given to the production capacity of forests and to raising their biological functions.

In harmony with the production capacities of forests, timber output is to be raised by about 6 per cent by 1975, as compared with 1970, and deliveries of timber are to be increased by at least 9 per cent. At the same time, it is necessary to consistently reduce the laborious character of wood-cutting and wood handling in forests.

In the woodworking industry, better use of timber is to be promoted especially by fast expansion of the production of large-sized constructional materials replacing sawn timber; the output of chip-board and fibre-board is to be roughly doubled by 1975 and the output of plywood is to grow by nearly 150 per cent. The rise in production is to be attained mainly by modernization of existing capacities. There is to be a substantial growth in furniture production.

In the paper and cellulose industry, production of unbleached cellulose and semichemical pulp is to reach about 735,000 tons by 1975 and the output of paper and cardboard is to be raised to at least 1.2 million tons, i.e. by 43 per cent. The increment in cellulose output in Slovakia is to be achieved by better use being made of deciduous timber; for this purpose it will be necessary to expand the cellulose mill at Hencovce and to reconstruct the cellulose mill in Žilina. In the Czech Socialist Republic, it is necessary to complete the construction of the sulphate cellulose mill at Štětí.

6. Consumer Industry

The expansion of the consumer industry is to be concentrated on meeting the needs of the home market and on further expansion of exports. Increased output is to be ensured mainly by more intensive reconstruction and modernization of existing capacities.

In the textile industry, output is to be raised by roughly one quarter. In particular, it is necessary to modernize and expand the production of knitwear. Cotton mills are to be modernized by the introduction of highly productive spindleless spinning frames so that, by 1975, yarn produced by spindleless spinning should account for about 22 % of the total output of cotton yarn. The share of automation in wool weaving mills is to be raised through the installation of automatic looms in these shops to 67 per cent by 1975. The share of synthetic fibres in the consumption of textile raw materials is to be raised in the textile industry from 11.5 per cent in 1970 to 20 per cent in 1975; a programme will be elaborated for using them in the most effective way.

In the leather-working and footwear industry, capacities are to be expanded, especially in Slovakia, for footwear production of Czechoslovak, mainly synthetic, materials. The

output of footwear is to increase by approximately 25 per cent by 1975; production of footwear made of porous plastics is to be expanded so that its volume in the total footwear output should reach about 17 per cent in 1975.

The output of the glass and ceramics industry is to be raised by about 45 per cent by 1975, with efforts to be concentrated on eliminating the shortage of container glass for the food and pharmaceutical industry and on ensuring the needs of housing construction.

7. Building Materials Industry

The decisive material base for the building industry will, also in the fifth Five-Year Plan period, be the expansion of the output of building materials and building parts on the basis of silicate raw materials. This will also improve conditions for supplying the population, for meeting the requirements of individual construction and repair-work.

In order to ensure a growth of 47 to 49 per cent in the output of building materials it is necessary to modernize existing capacities and to put into operation new plants of high technical standard. Investments in the building materials industry are to be substantially raised and it is necessary to build new cement works at Čížkovice and Záhorie, at least eleven new brick factories, panel factories at Malešice, Chrlice, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Michalovce, porous concrete plants at Opatovce and Štúrovo, new factories making building ceramics and silicate raw materials. Projects under construction are to be rapidly completed.

The output of cement is to be raised by 33 to 35 per cent and its quality is to be improved, the output of burnt and unburnt walling material, especially porous concrete materials, is to be raised by 44 to 46 per cent, and there will be an increase in the output of ceramic wall and floor tiles,

earthenware sewage and drainage pipes and other products. It is necessary to raise the share of better quality products, to increase shift-work and to improve the working conditions of workers.

It is necessary to intensively expand the extraction and processing of non-ore raw materials for other branches as well, e.g. of calcites for agriculture, of kaolin, of glass and foundry sand, bentonite, heat resistant clay and clays-tone, as well as light aggregates.

IV. AGRICULTURE AND FOOD PRODUCTION

The aim of the Party's agricultural policy is to further strengthen socialist relations of production and their full utilization for the expansion of productive forces so that agricultural production will be able to better meet the growing needs of the population.

The basic task is to cover the increment in the consumption of basic foodstuffs by home production. This calls for an increase in agricultural production of roughly 14 per cent and in purchases of agricultural produce for State funds by 18 to 19 per cent as compared with 1970. This especially necessitates continued intensification of production, large-scale introduction of industrial production methods, expansion of services application of the achievements of science and technical progress and use of the initiative and experience of people working in agriculture.

In crop production, it is necessary to raise per hectare yields of all products; per hectare yields of cereals are to be raised from an average of 27 quintals per hectare of the past five-year period, to 31 quintals per hectare, and areas sown with cereals are to be increased at the same time; grain output is to reach 41 to 42 million tons over the whole

period of the fifth Five-Year Plan, i.e. by nearly one-fifth more than in the fourth Five-Year Plan.

So as to achieve this aim, annual supplies of artificial fertilizers are to be raised by 1975 to more than 220 kg of pure nutrient per hectares of arable land, and deliveries of lime and preparations for chemical crop protection are also to be increased.

In order to make better use of artificial fertilizers and chemical preparations, a system of agrotechnical services will have to be built up.

Irrigation systems are to be set up on more than 110 000 hectares and nearly 300 000 hectares are to be drained.

It is necessary to expand the most efficient varieties of seeds and seedlings, to reduce losses in harvesting to solve especially the post-harvest treatment of crops and to build driers and granaries in a planned way.

Better utilisation of agricultural land must be ensured, and its protection should be considered a society-wide task.

In animal production, it is necessary to raise the yield of farm animals and stocks of cows. State purchases of animals for slaughter are to be increased by 1975 to 1,260,000 - 1,270,000 tons (i.e. 18 per cent more than in 1970) and in accordance with the requirements of rational nutrition to gradually raise the proportion of production of lean meat. State purchases of poultry are to be raised to nearly 140,000 tons (i.e. an increase of 14 per cent), milk to nearly 4,500 million litres (i.e. 21 per cent more) and eggs to nearly 2,200 million pieces (i.e. an increase of 18 per cent). The milk yield of cows is to be raised to at least 2,750 litres per year (i.e. an increase of roughly 10 per cent).

It is therefore necessary to continue intensifying and rationalizing agricultural production.

Large-scale production forms of silaging and artificial drying of green fodder have to be expanded and production of fodder mixtures is to be raised to 5 million tons in 1975 (i.e. an increase by 30 per cent). The traditional systems of cattle feeding will have to be changed, it is necessary to proceed to two-component up to one-component doses of essential fodder for cattle and to reduce the human labour required and the consumption of cereals. The quality of the fodder mixtures is to be further improved by intensified production and better utilisation of maize, combined with increased supplies of protein-concentrates and other fodder admixtures. Better utilisation of voluminous fodder is necessary.

Productivity of labour must be raised, laborious work reduced and working conditions must be generally improved in animal production, by the reconstruction of existing and the building of new large-capacity farms and by improving the organisation of production processes.

Mechanization of agricultural work is to be orientated so that by 1975 nearly all grain in the socialist sector will be harvested by combine-harvesters; 90 per cent of maize will be harvested by combines; more than 90 per cent of potatoes are to be sown by potato planters, three quarters of all potatoes are to be harvested by combines and one quarter by potato diggers, three-quarters of post-harvest potato treatment is to be performed by single-purpose and one-quarter by fully mechanized lines. In the case of sugar-beet, practically all sowing is to be done by hulled or single-sprout seed, and more than 95 per cent of sugar-beet is to be harvested by direct and two-phase harvesting; two-thirds of green fodder on arable land is to be harvested by forage harvesters; nearly one-half of the hay will be harvested from meadows by

means of forage harvesters and 30 per cent by pick-up attachments.

Complex means of mechanization for large-scale production will also have to be provided for animal production, which applies both to existing as well as to newly-built facilities.

In 1971 to 1975, agriculture is to be supplied with agricultural machinery worth about 20,000 million crowns, which is to include 56,000 tractors, lorries for agricultural transport, nearly 8,000 grain harvesters, 3,000 potato harvesters, 800 potato sorting lines and other types of mechanization for sugar-beet and fodder harvesting and for complex mechanization of animal production; at the same time, it will be necessary to raise the technical standard, quality, reliability and service-life of machines and equipment supplied to agriculture. Care for agricultural machinery, its maintenance and full employment will have to be improved. It is necessary to bring order in supplies of spare parts for tractors and agricultural machinery, and to improve repair services and the whole system of supplying agricultural machinery.

In all sectors of agricultural cooperative production relations must be improved in a planned way so as to better utilize resources and means and to intensify inter-enterprise division of labour.

Funds for capital construction in agriculture will have to be concentrated in harmony with further concentration and specialization of production.

It is necessary to expand the capacity of grannaries for purchasing and supply organizations.

The recruitment of young people from schools for agriculture should be increased and working and living conditions of agricultural workers will have to be consistently improved.

In the food industry it will be necessary by 1975 to raise production by 18 per cent. Renovation, modernization and reconstruction of principal equipment is to continue, new capacities for the processing of 1,700 million litres of milk, 255,000 tons of meat and meat products, over 25,000 tons of poultry for table, for the production of 114,000 tons of malt and 2.7 million hectolitres of beer should be built.

There will also have to be an increase in the processing of fruit and vegetables, in the production of fruit juices and non-alcoholic drinks.

The standard of packaging food products will have to be improved with a view to retaining the nutrient value of foods.

V. BUILDING INDUSTRY

In view of the tasks in capital construction and the needs connected with repairs of fixed assets, it is necessary to raise the volume of work performed by building organizations by roughly 38 per cent.

Essential conditions are to be created for shortening construction schedules. The production programme and orientation of building enterprises is to be better adapted to the needs of planned capital construction and to its location.

It is necessary to expand the material base for comprehensive housing construction, to raise the capacities of panel factories and to speed up finishing work by efficient means of mechanization as well as by ensuring a sufficient number of skilled workers. In this way, the problem of finishing work on housing units proper as well auxiliary constructions (building engineering, communications etc.) will have to be dealt with.

It is necessary to substantially improve modern methods of management of building works, especially in areas of concentrated construction, and to organize more effectively the switch-over of building capacities from other areas of the State.

In building organizations, efforts should be made to improve the quality of constructions. Organizational and technical conditions are to be created for keeping consumption of materials at the standardized level and more economical use is to be made of transport and storage.

Improved preparation and organization of building works is to substantially raise economical use of working-hours which, together with technical progress, is the decisive factor in raising productivity of labour. And so, achieve more than 30 per cent higher productivity of labour in supplier building organizations. In this way nearly 90 per cent of the growth in building production is to be met by increased productivity of labour.

It is necessary to gradually carry out structural changes in the material base for building, to apply progressive methods of construction and to eliminate laborious work by greater use of mechanization. Smooth supplies of material for the building industry will have to be ensured from both the sector making building materials as well as from the metallurgical and engineering industries, the chemical and the consumer industries.

Technical development is to concentrate especially on bottlenecks in the expansion of building production, especially on industrialization of the finishing stage, on application of progressive structures and technologies, on reducing the consumption of materials, on using progressive materials and products, especially in connection with the expansion of prefabrication of the finishing process.

It is necessary to expand local construction enterprises whose main mission will be to ensure repairs and maintenance work of the housing fund.

VI. TRANSPORTATION AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

The development of transportation in the fifth Five-Year Plan period must meet the increasing requirements of the national economy, mainly through modernization of railway transport, the highway network and expansion of automobile transport services; an urgent task is to improve the traffic situation in Prague by new construction and reconstruction of the communications network, including the Metro and the railway junction.

The volume of goods carried is to increase by at least 20 per cent, passenger transport by about 6 per cent. Technical development is to ensure fulfilment of these tasks and improvement of the quality of the transportation process.

Rationalization efforts in transportation should aim at

- maximum utilization of all vehicles and other components of the technical base of transportation,
- the use of the most suitable organizational forms of management in the various sectors and types of transportation,
- the development of a combined transportation system, with shorter loading and unloading periods, the introduction of a container system and use of computers for the planning and management of the transportation process.
- gradual elimination of non-effective operations and services, in keeping with an economical distribution of transport work, this concerns mainly termination of services on little used railway lines.

In railway transport, the rolling stock - wagons and engines - is to be modernized, and capacity of lines and railway junctions to be increased. Conditions will have to be created for reducing the amount of steam traction in the ČSD (Czechoslovak State Railways) network to about 2 per cent by 1975. There shall be no steam traction in operation in Prague in 1975.

The plan calls for 127 kilometres of new sections of electrified railway lines to go into service, so that by 1975, more than 2,600 kilometres (20 per cent) of the railway network, handling 58 per cent of traffic, will have been electrified. Work is to begin on the electrification of the Prague - Děčín and Nové Zámky - Zvolen - Haniska lines.

Modernization of the stock of locomotives is to be carried out by putting into service 190 electrical locomotives, more than 30 electric traction units, more than 1,000 Diesel locomotives and more than 100 motor traction wagons. Modernization of traction also includes reconstruction of locomotive depots, and completion of the construction of rolling stock repair workshops in Plzeň, Zvolen and Trnava.

Necessary supplies of freight cars and passenger coaches must be ensured to improve and expand the rolling stock.

Railway junctions at Kralupy, Košice, Čierná nad Tisou, Bratislava and Žilina are to be reconstructed and their capacity increased. The capacity of the East Slovakian freight transfer facilities and of the adjoining line sections is also to be raised. Full reconstruction of 750 kilometres of railway lines is to be carried out annually so as to improve the technical state of the railway.

In road and municipal mass transport, the capacity is to be increased by putting into service 60,000 lorries and 10,000 buses; steps are to be taken to improve the technical state of the rolling stock and its structure. The supplies

of vehicles for public transport services are to take precedence over the supplies to enterprises.

The first line of the Metro underground is to be opened in Prague, and construction of the second line is to start.

About 17,700 million Czechoslovak crowns are to be invested up to 1975, to improve the situation in the highway network. Priority is to be given mainly to modernization of certain complex selected sections of the road network, the construction of the motorway is to continue, the construction of bypass and sally roads is to receive attention, as well as over - and underpasses of heavy-traffic railway lines, and city communications improved.

The Prague road network and the North-South highway in Prague is to be linked with the motorway, construction of a modern circuit collector road system around Prague is to be prepared.

In air transport, Soviet-made aircraft will be bought to modernize the fleet.

In shipping, the fleet is to be modernized and necessary reloading and harbour facilities are to be built; better utilisation of the waterways is to be ensured.

In telecommunications, the capacity of the long-distance telecommunications network will be increased by the construction of coaxial cables and radio-relay connections the telephone network and automatic long distance telephone service will be expanded, the 1st television programme network will be completed, and the construction of transmitters and the relay network for the 2nd programme and for colour television will continue, so that 40 per cent of the territory of Czechoslovakia will be covered by the television signal by 1975.

Transit exchange systems for automatic long-distance telephone lines will be built gradually, so that by 1975

the automation of the network is to reach 45 per cent.

The local telephone system in the capital city of Prague will be reconstructed, and the capacity of automatic telephone exchanges expanded. By 1975, 860 additional kilometres of local telephone cables are to be laid, and 40,000 lines installed. Construction of a central telecommunications office in Prague is to begin.

In the fifth Five-Year Plan period, some 430,000 new telephone lines will be made available to subscribers. Telephone networks in new residential districts are to be built, and the number of private telephone lines is to be gradually increased.

Complex mechanisation and automation will be introduced in postal operation.

VII. CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

In the period of the fifth Five-Year Plan, extensive capital construction will create not only prerequisites for the solution of economic and social tasks, it will also lay the foundation for a steady, proportionate and more effective long-term development. The priority orientation of capital construction to promotion of progressive structural changes requires not only unconditional construction of planned specific projects but also observance of the time schedule. Thus the fulfilment of tasks in capital construction is one of the main factors in efforts to increase the effectiveness of the Czechoslovak economy.

In keeping with the concept of national economic development, the volume of capital construction is to be 35 - 37 per cent higher in the fifth Five-Year Plan period, in comparison with the fourth; the volume of building work is

to be about 33 per cent higher, machinery about 37 per cent. In industry, investments are to go up by about 37 per cent, in agriculture by 21 per cent, in transport and telecommunications by 50 per cent, in housing construction by 63 per cent.

In capital construction the following tasks of decisive importance are to be given priority:

- the development of the fuels and power base, including the transit gas pipeline,
- development of the production of building and construction materials
- key development programmes in other industrial branches,
- strengthening of the production and technical base of agriculture,
- complex housing construction
- construction of the capital city of Czechoslovakia, Prague
- solution of the most urgent problems of development of transportation and telecommunications.

This orientation provides a very exacting factual content for the plan of capital construction, comprising a large amount of technically complicated and extensive construction work to be done simultaneously. In addition, there will be a marked concentration of investment activity in certain regions, which will be demanding from the technical and organisational viewpoint as well as from the point of concentrating and transferring building capacities. The realisation of the investment programme of the fifth Five-Year Plan requires an uncompromising attitude towards dispersion of funds and towards attempts to push through any kind of premature, excessive and supplementary demands which, as a whole, would

lead to excessive tension in the sphere of investments, a loss of effectiveness endangering the overall reality of the programme and which would call forth inflationary pressures in the whole economy.

Owing to insufficient manpower reserves and the need for a redistribution of the labour force, the present approach to investments into industry will have to be radically changed. It is necessary to make investments only where the necessary labour power is actually available, or where savings in manpower are to be made.

To ensure complex modernization of entire enterprises and plants it is essential to make better use of investment funds earmarked for small-scale construction and machinery not included in the budget, and to concentrate them purposefully within branches, sectors and enterprises on projects of decisive effect; for this purpose, complex projects of modernization and reconstruction must be made by 1972.

Material and financial resources and capacities must be concentrated to ensure completion of projects now under construction and new capacities decisive for the development of the national economy. New construction is to be started to an extent which will make it possible to gradually reduce the volume of unfinished projects and to shorten construction terms.

Substantial improvement must be achieved in the economic and technical standard of both the preparatory and construction stages of projects, in the quality of work and supplies, observance of techno-economic parameters and construction budgets, planned construction schedules and deadlines by which the new plants are to be put into operation. Only projects fully prepared and ensured are to be started.

The prime duty of investors, designers and suppliers is to be observance of the principle of maximum economy and

effectiveness of construction. For this, necessary conditions must be created in project design work, techno-economic preparatory work, and supplies of construction work and technological equipment must be ensured so as to reduce the present level of budgetary costs and specific investment expenditure. It is essential to prevent a steady growth of budgetary costs of unfinished projects, and to investigate thoroughly all cases where this happens. Systematic checks of the utilization of existing production capacities must be carried out before every new project is started and before any extension of production areas.

Ground work and the blueprint stage of projects must be completed in time, and modern methods of effective management must be used in capital construction projects in areas of major concentration (Prague and Central Bohemia, Northern Bohemia, Bratislava and vicinity).

VIII. STANDARD OF LIVING

The further development of the living standard will be based on the existing high level of material consumption and social achievements of broad strata of the population. That is why especially those aspects of life - of the society and individuals - will be promoted in the next stage where the satisfaction of higher material requirements will be accompanied by an improvement of the living environment and the advancement of socialist culture and education.

There will be further development of the socialist principle of remuneration according to merit, systematic improvement of the care for children and citizens enjoying well-deserved retirement. In addition to a steady growth of personal consumption, the standard of living will be raised particularly in terms of better living and working conditions.

This will depend mainly on our ability to improve the management of production and work better, each of us at his own place of work.

To ensure a balanced growth of the living standard, it will be essential to lay the foundation for gradual progressive changes in the structure of consumption, while demands will be continuously met, and to spend funds destined for the improvement of living environment mainly on housing, public amenities in cities and residential districts, including the water supply system, the road network and health and educational centres, to contribute to speedier elimination of existing shortcomings.

To strengthen the securities of existence of the population - in addition to the existing range of services provided free and to what the people get as part of the social consumption - it is necessary to ensure maximum stability of retail prices, increase the effectiveness of the wage system, improve the system of social security and assistance to large families. It is necessary to ensure an annual average growth of real financial income of the population, of about 5 per cent making it possible to extend material motivation and to solve the most pressing problems as regard social security.

1. Remuneration for work

The importance of remuneration for work for the growth of the standard of living is to be raised by promoting material incentives based on work results. Earnings must be more closely dependent upon output. For this purpose, it is necessary

- to enforce stricter work regimes and discipline, and higher responsibility,
- to restore the function of technically justified output norms, and in this connection, to emphasize the

incentive factor of wages, so as to ensure clearer differentiation between high quality, conscientious work and bad work of inferior quality, between skilled and unskilled work,

- to gradually improve the existing wage systems, thus raising the effectiveness of all forms of remuneration and the tariff system, and strengthening the State control over the wage policy,
- to pursue an effective wage policy at all levels of management, and to promote correct principles of linking the interests of individuals and the society as a whole, and material and moral stimuli.

On the basis of increased productivity, average wages of workers and employees are to go up 2.5 - 3 per cent annually.

2. Social policy

It is essential to proceed from the existing high standard of social security, and to expend the welfare system in keeping with the growth of the national income, so as to raise the standard of living of those persons who are incapable of participating in the work process. This will mean gradual adjustments in terms of the social security system and standard, but not in the form of marginal partial measures.

Children's allowances are to be adjusted so as to give preferential treatment to large families; these benefits must be proportionate to the overall growth of incomes from work. Better socio-economic conditions for the period subsequent to the birth of a child are to be created. The social status of parenthood is to be enhanced by educational and organizational measures in the whole society, primarily by the everyday all-round care given by national committees, enterprises and

social organisations, and the needs of large families and employed mothers are to be better met. The necessary services to households are to be expanded and improved.

As regards old-age pensions, it is necessary to carry out a gradual restructuring of the present system, to eliminate the already unjustified differences in allowances drawn by the various population groups; the restructuring will solve the extent of basic old-age pensions, high enough to cover the necessary living requirements, while the balance of the pension will be scaled more pronouncedly according to the recipients' individual merit from the period of their active employment. The pensions calculated on the basis of former directives will be adjusted to the present scale of earnings, and measures will be introduced to ensure that the old-age pensions do not lag behind the development of the economy.

This demanding program is to be carried out step by step but systematically, to strengthen the life-long securities not only of persons justly enjoying their retirement but also of persons still in gainful employment.

3. Private consumption

In keeping with the growth of incomes and expanding production of consumer goods, the retail trade turnover is to rise about 28 - 30 per cent.

The prime political and economic task will be to gradually increase the standard of the home market, i.e. to ensure steadier supplies of the main commodities and merchandise and to systematically eliminate shortcomings as regards the assortment quality and variety of goods available to meet the demand of the population. Faster growth rate of the sales of industrial goods than food sales is to proceed alongside qualitative changes in the structure of consumption.

It should be realized that durables will be the main factor influencing the projected faster rate of growth in the sales of industrial goods: the supplies of available building materials for housing construction and modernization of flats, households and recreational facilities is to go up 50 per cent, the number of vehicles supplied to the domestic market is to be more than doubled: the sales of passenger cars are to increase gradually up to 170,000 cars annually, and the backlog of orders is thus to be cleared. Attention is to be given to ways and means of ensuring that household equipment in the durables category is in better supply; in this connection, owing to the already high percentage of households well-equipped with various appliances of this kind, stress is to be laid on improvement of quality and broader assortment.

In keeping with the possibilities provided by the fuels and power situation, the production and sales of suitable appliances operating on clean types of power is to be promoted; the present short supply of such appliances impedes faster change-over to more progressive heating systems. In this connection, consumption of heating oil is to be gradually increased threefold, gas consumption by some 55 per cent, electricity consumption by 70 per cent. Solid fuels are to be available to private consumers in sufficient and ready supply. Necessary organizational, technical and economic measures are to be gradually introduced to facilitate a change-over to the use of smokeless fuels in households.

It will be essential to deal with problems of a sufficient assortment of goods of short-term and daily use (particularly clothing and footwear), and thus to better satisfy the demand of private consumers.

The share of biologically more valuable food is to increase in total food sales, raw food is to be replaced by industrially processed products for direct consumption and not

requiring much preparation in household kitchens, and care is to be taken that consumers' increasing demands concerning assortment and quality of food products and beverages are met.

The retail trade network is to be expanded, with special regard to the location of shops and their modernization, to progressive forms of retailing, to the attention given to customers and to lessening the time necessary for shopping.

The range and volume of paid services available to the population are to increase 25 - 30 per cent, priority attention to be given to services facilitating women's household chores. The quality of personal and other services, maintenance and repair work and made-to-order work for the population is to be improved. In view of the rapidly growing number of private cars, the network of repair workshops and service centres will have to be expanded. This task falls to local economy organizations, production cooperatives as well as to organizations of State industry.

Production programmes of local enterprises and cooperatives are to be mainly oriented towards goods and products currently in short supply, and towards complementing usefully the mass production of the State industrial sector.

4. Housing and living environment

Conditions must be created for gradual improvement of the living environment. Funds are to be spent mainly on major projects, rather than on minor partial measures not ensuring pronounced improvement.

More intensive efforts are to be made to satisfy the demand for housing. Measures are to be taken to build at least 500,000 new flats, of which about 65 per cent will be in the Czech Socialist Republic, and 35 per cent in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The number of flats built by supplier organ-

izations is to be increased to about 70 per cent of the total number of new flats; improved conditions are to be provided for self-help housing construction. Comprehensive measures are to be introduced, to facilitate expansion and greater effectiveness of the building of family houses, both on self-help and contractor basis. The quality of housing construction work is to be raised, shorter schedules are to be followed.

Preparatory ground work for new housing construction is to be speeded up, including timely construction of water supply facilities, heating systems, sewage systems, road network etc.

In comparison with 1969, utility floor space of flats built by contractors is to go up about 5 per cent. Since the main task is to build the highest possible number of flats, all attempts aimed at disproportionately fast growth of the housing standard are to be considered economically premature until 1975. Resolute technical, economic and administrative measures will be introduced to halt the present unplanned development leading to higher costs of dwelling units and equipment of flats. Planned cost parameters per flat are to hold the function of unsurpassable price limits, and project-design, investor and supplier organisations are socially and materially responsible for adhering to them. New housing projects are to have necessary technical and civic facilities and amenities, and existing shortcomings in this respect in other residential districts are to be dealt with systematically.

In housing construction, attention is to be given to useful and effective location of new projects, from the viewpoint of development and rational structure of production forces, complex settlement policy and improvement of the overall situation in living environment. Increased care is to be given to plan-based housing construction in rural areas.

In addition to the State and cooperative housing projects, construction carried out by enterprises and individuals will be encouraged. The housing law and other legal norms will be appropriately amended to enable a more effective housing policy aimed at stabilizing the labour force.

Special attention will be given to modernization, repairs and upkeep of the existing housing stock, including homes in private ownership.

In water economy, priority will be given to requirements related to housing construction. The water supply and sewage systems are to be expanded, so that at least 60 per cent of all citizens will live in flats connected to public water mains, and 50 per cent in flats using public sewage systems. In centres with massive housing construction, water supply reservoirs are to be built.

The situation in water pollution will be combatted by the construction of water treatment stations, particularly in the vicinity of sources causing the greatest pollution.

Work is to continue on anti-flood protection projects, mainly on the Danube, Dyje and Lower Morava rivers.

Attention will be paid to problems of air pollution, the expansion and maintenance of green vegetative areas and to reducing the amount of noise in the living environment. Increased care is to be given to improving conditions, particularly in agglomerations afflicted by industrial exhalations. In order to improve the living environment in towns and villages, national committees will organize the initiative and voluntary work of citizens. Enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, with participation of the working people, will purposefully improve the working environment, this being one of the main components of care for the people, and regulations on the purity of the atmosphere, and waters must be adhered to.

5. Health, education and physical training

In this sphere, the necessary growth of social consumption is to be ensured: all human and material resources which the society sets aside for the purpose will have to be more effectively used.

In the health service, conditions are to be created for improved care of the population: the number of hospital beds is to increase by 6,000, i.e. 5 per cent, the capacity of the spa facilities is to go up by 3,000 beds. The number of doctors per 10,000 people is to be raised by 3.1, i.e. to 25.5 doctors. The funds marked for investments are to be used primarily for removing existing deficiencies of obsolete health facilities, speedier completion of projects under construction, and beginning of new major projects of decisive importance for the gradual overall modernization of the health system. Organizational and other measures are to be taken to sign up new personnel for treatment of the most prevalent diseases, preventive care and outpatient departments with services rendered to the public are to be improved and speeded up. In order to improve the quality of medical services, material resources and personnel will have to be re-grouped, with the aim of completing the functional system of the health services and utilising reserves existing in the present organisation of work.

In the material base of the educational system, groundwork is to be laid for further growth of the standard of education and for promoting communist education of youth. Unity of education in the socialist school, the family and all educational organisations must be ensured. At elementary schools plan-based conditions must be created to reduce the two-shift time-table, and greater care is to be given to the children of employed mothers. Investments are to be spent on the com-

pletion of educational facilities now under construction, rebuilding of some old buildings and modernization of tuition. The care for children of pre-school age and after-class facilities are to be extended; the number of pupils using the centres provided for after classes and by school clubs is to increase, as is the number of pupils taking their meals at schools, to about 1.5 million, i.e. up by some 200 000. There are to be places for more children in nursery schools: total attendance is to be over 65 per cent of all children in the appropriate age group.

Work is to continue on improving the educational system at all levels, to bring in into harmony with the perspectives of developing socialist society, especially in apprentice schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities. It is necessary to ensure that the preparation of students at secondary schools be oriented towards using their knowledge in demanding workers' professions. Plan-based expansion of extra-mural studies must be ensured and conditions must be created for the further education of working youth. As regards the preparation of the young generation for employment, requirements of progressive practice must be taken into account, particularly long-term perspectives of the economy, science and culture as well as the political and cultural level of society.

Improved conditions are to be provided for mass physical training, sport and recreation. The facilities operated by group-interest organizations, schools, enterprises, national committees and the Trade Union Movement must be put to better use, and new facilities are to be built: the initiative of citizens and enterprise funds are to be used for this purpose. Conditions for tourism are to be steadily improved.

IX. EXTERNAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The development of external economic relations in the period of the fifth Five-Year Plan is aimed at strengthening Czechoslovakia's active role in the international division of labour and the country's economic ties with the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance; on this basis, necessary external conditions must be created for a plan-based development of the national economy and increased effectiveness of economic development.

To ensure this, the growth rate of the volume of foreign trade will have to be faster than the growth of the national income. During the five-year period, the total turnover of Czechoslovak foreign trade is to rise by 36 - 38 per cent.

The progressing process of economic integration, which is an important factor of effective development of the Czechoslovak economy, is to be promoted in keeping with the conclusions reached at the 23rd and 24th sessions of the C.M.E.A. All-round support for the process must be given not only at higher levels of economic management, but care must be taken that its importance is also properly recognized in the production sphere. Conditions must be created and ensured for active participation of the economic enterprise sphere in the development of production cooperation and specialization within the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Active part will be taken in completing the programme of socialist economic integration and in securing its realization. The problem of international division of labour will be solved in a complex way, from the scientific-technical sphere, investments and production down to marketing.

It is necessary to proceed from the results already achieved in terms of coordination of national economic plans with the C.M.E.A. member countries. Use must be made of all

the possibilities provided by the international socialist division of labour for solving long-standing problems of the Czechoslovak economy, especially in the sphere of fuels and raw materials and in the chemical and engineering industries. To ensure the maximum possible intensification of the division of labour, priority must be given to the development of branches and sectors for which the most favourable conditions exist in Czechoslovakia. Cooperation with the socialist states is to be expanded, ranging from coordinated promotion of science, research and investments to close cooperation in production and mutual supplies in the various branches.

The turnover of Czechoslovak foreign trade with the socialist countries is to rise by 43 - 45 per cent.

While priority will be given to the development of economic relations with the C.M.E.A. member countries, particularly with the Soviet Union, mutually beneficial economic relations with the capitalist and developing countries are to be promoted on the basis of mutual advantage. A faster rate of growth of exports than that of imports must be achieved.

In the import of machinery and equipment preference must be given to purchasing the peak of world technique and those machines for the production of which there are no conditions in Czechoslovakia. Credits, when granted under usual commercial conditions, will also be used for imports of machinery from the capitalist states, in keeping with the possibilities of increasing exports to the markets of advanced capitalist countries.

To carry out structural changes, necessary for improving Czechoslovakia's position in the international division of labour and increasing the effectiveness of foreign trade, the role of the processing industry, especially engineering, must be made more prominent. The export of engineering products must grow at a substantially faster rate than total ex-

ports; within five years, it is to increase more than 50 per cent. In this connection, steady improvement should be ensured of the technical level of Czechoslovak engineering products and of commercial and technical services, and production adapted to the requirements of foreign markets. The commercial activity of foreign trade organisations must be improved and must be based upon consistent market research.

The State management of foreign trade is to be strengthened and improved. There are to be firmer economic ties between production and foreign trade, and better stimuli for raising the effectiveness of foreign trade exchanges in harmony with the national-economic plan.

X. DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION FORCES AND MAIN DIRECTIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE CZECH AND SLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The realization of the main goals of the development programme of the Czechoslovak economy and the standard of living of the people through the implementation of a common economic policy requires good use to be made of the natural and economic conditions in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics, and that efforts thus continue to gradually close the economic gap between the two republics. In this connection, it is essential to improve the system of regional planning, and especially to objectivize criteria for the deployment of production forces.

The development of the economy in the 1971-1975 period is to be oriented so as to increase the social product by almost 25 per cent in the Czech Socialist Republic (ČSR), and by about 40 per cent in the Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR). Rising productivity is to be the main factor of economic growth in both national republics.

In the Č.S.R., the volume of industrial production is to be raised by 27-29 per cent, in the S.S.R. by 55-57 per

cent. In both republics, the growth of industrial production is to be achieved primarily through more effective utilization and modernization of the existing production base, and through the development of progressive production branches. Production of the engineering industry is to go up some 40 per cent in the Czech Socialist Republic and more than 60 per cent in Slovakia, the volume of chemical production is to rise about 45 - 50 per cent, and by about 80 per cent in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics, respectively. The volume of production of the consumer goods industry is to increase by almost one-quarter in the Č.S.R., and by more than one half in the S.S.R.

Gross agricultural production is to rise 13 per cent in the Č.S.R. and almost 15 per cent in the S.S.R. The gap between the two republics in terms of the number of agricultural machines and equipment is to be reduced. Irrigation and drainage projects are to be carried out to offset the different quality of soil and climatic conditions, and the most suitable structure of agricultural production is to be chosen in order to achieve maximum effect, particularly in the most productive regions.

Production of the food industry is to rise by 15 and 26 per cent in the Č.S.R. and S.S.R., respectively.

The restructuring of the industry, housing construction, repairs of capital assets and other capital construction tasks make it essential to increase the volume of work to be done by building organizations in the Č.S.R. by 37 per cent, in the S.S.R. by 40 per cent.

In capital construction, the reproduction of capital assets is to be made more effective, and funds are to be made available to those branches in which substantial structural changes of the production base will be carried out. Deployment of the labour force is to be supported by a suitable dislocation of housing construction and of enterprises of the

non-productive sphere in various regions. This should be done so that concentration and specialisation of production will assist the desirable concentration of the population in connection with forming a rational structure of habitation.

In pursuing economic development in both republics and in their individual regions, due regard is to be given to their specific problems.

1. The Czech Socialist Republic

The high rate of employment, low increment of new labour forces and the location of a large part of the processing capacities on the territory of the ČSR necessitates an increase in productivity and more effective use of capital assets to be ensured by the projected growth of production of the engineering, consumer goods and food industries, while effectively utilising capital assets to increase productivity of labour. This will also require modernisation and intensification of the production process by reducing the number of production programmes, changing production technologies and expanding mechanisation and automation. In the processing industry, particularly in the textile industry, funds will be spent on the modernisation of plants.

In capital construction, the fulfilment of the basic programme of development of the fuel and power base is to be ensured as a prerequisite for the development of the entire Czechoslovak economy, as well as the development programmes in the sphere of building materials production, housing construction and selected priority development programmes in key industrial branches. Special attention must be given to the construction of the petrochemical industry, and to a substantial expansion of crude oil processing plants, production of high-quality steel, top-level textile, leather and footwear machinery, machine tools (especially numerically control-

led), automobile plant equipment, semiconductor, electronics and electrical engineering equipment and computers. In agriculture, modern, labour-saving, large-scale production machinery especially are to make up for losses in manpower.

As regards regional problems in the Czech Socialist Republic, main attention is to be given to:

- planned development projects in the Czechoslovak capital city of Prague and adjoining regions , in the North Bohemian region and in centres which, in view of their specific character and position in Czechoslovakia's economy, are of decisive economic and social importance. In the border regions, attention is to be centred on problems of the most under-developed areas and the effect of the extraordinary conditions existing in them is to be reduced;
- the need to harmonize requirements and availability of labour for new plants under construction.

In the capital city of Czechoslovakia, Prague, it is essential to tackle problems whose solution will substantially influence future development of the capital, particularly housing, transportation and technical and public facilities and amenities.

The construction of at least 40,000 flats, major transportation projects and the Metro underground is to be ensured; while the investments policy is to lay the ground-work for faster progress after 1975. Two big department stores are to be built, to improve the retail trade situation in Prague.

In the other branches, capital construction is to be oriented only to projects necessary for the life of the city and designed to improve the living standard of the population, as well as projects which, in view of the function of the capital, cannot be situated in other parts of the country.

Big capital construction projects are to be carried out with the help of building organizations from all parts of Czechoslovakia. The complex development of the capital city, particularly its programme of capital construction, is to be taken as a state-wide task.

To improve the living conditions in the capital, great attention must be given to the growth of services, for which the necessary number of workers must be made available.

In North Bohemia, attention must be concentrated upon a speedy development of the fuel and power base, essential for the development of the national economy of Czechoslovakia. This concerns especially brown coal mining operations in the mines Maxim Gorky, Šverma, Čs. armáda, Merkur and Březno, electric power plants of Počerady II. and Tušimice II., and the chemical plant at Záluží. Necessary funds must be allocated for the purpose, sufficient number of workers signed up and homes built for them. Measures of non-investment and investment character designed to improve the living environment are to be taken at the same time.

In industrial centres, more specific plans of their further development are to be worked out and implemented. More effective measures will have to be taken on branch and regional scales to ensure better use of available labour, modernization and reconstruction of production plants and in the dislocation of housing construction. Prime attention should be given to the industrial centres Plzeň, Liberec-Jablonec, Brno, Gottwaldov, Ostrava and the East Bohemian region.

2. The Slovak Socialist Republic

The relatively lower rate of employment, higher increments of new manpower and the lower degree of industrialisation in the Slovak Socialist Republic, as compared with the Czech Socialist Republic, necessitate that the fast growth

of industrial production continues to be considered the decisive task. There is to be faster development of the chemical, engineering and metallurgical industries, and increased production of synthetic fibres and cellulose from the wood of deciduous trees. The petrochemical industry is to increase its output, and the automobile industry is to be expanded. In electronics, there is to be a greater share of products of an investment character, the production of road building and construction machinery is to be promoted, the production of footwear, furniture and textiles is to be substantially raised.

To achieve this, optimum utilization of potential increases of manpower resources and their qualification structure is to be insured, and the technical production base is to be modernized.

In agriculture, where maximum production growth is to be reached, it is essential to better exploit the soil and climatic conditions, and direct investments primarily to southwest Slovakia and the East Slovak Lowlands.

To increase the share of Slovakia's economy in the creation of export funds, production is to be oriented to export goods.

Efforts are to continue which are aimed at gradual elimination of differences in the living standard of the people in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics by promoting faster growth rate of economic activity in Slovakia, in keeping with faster growth of the main branch of material production.

The building of the research and development base, particularly in the economic enterprise sphere, is to be speeded up, to create conditions necessary for the further development of production forces.

The deployment of production forces is to be facilitated by appropriate location of housing construction and non-productive enterprises in the various areas of the Slovak Socialist Republic. This is to ensure that the concentration and specialization of production is conducive to the desirable concentration of the population in selected towns. In special spheres, higher employment of women is to be promoted.

Efforts are to continue to deal with problems of economic backwardness of some areas, especially in northeast Slovakia, and to achieve a balanced development of all regions.

Participation is to be ensured in projects of State-wide importance in the Czech Socialist Republic, especially in Prague, and in the sector of fuel and power.

Special attention is to be given to the development of Bratislava. Problems related to the function of the city as Slovakia's capital are to be solved, including the completion of the communications network and the municipal transportation system, and its link-up with the railway network. A comprehensive solution of problems concerning housing construction, the retail trade network and accommodation facilities is to be worked out; systematic attention is to be given to questions concerning commuting to work and migration of the population. For the planned intensive capital construction in the city, measures are to be taken to use in Bratislava building capacities from other parts of Slovakia.

XI. MAIN TRENDS OF IMPROVING THE SYSTEM OF PLANNED MANAGEMENT

The main trends of further improving the system of management, which will make it possible to organize more effectively the efforts of the masses of working people in the interest of an economic and social development of the society,

must become instruments for solving concrete development problems. The tasks of the Five-Year Plan require that the system of planned management generates greater pressure to ensure better utilization of labour, raw materials, power and capital assets. The system must become a stronger stimulus inducing practical application of scientific and technical progress in production, faster rise of productivity and higher quality of products. Another function of the system of management is to facilitate structural changes and the participation of the Czechoslovak economy in the international socialist division of labour. An effective system of realising development programmes and of purposefully restricting non-perspective production programmes is to be created.

Simultaneously with development of the system of planned management the system of economic legal regulations must be perfected. The further development of the national economy requires consistent enforcement of the decisive function of all parts of the system of national economic plans: the State plans of developing the national economy, the State budgets, the currency plan including the foreign currency plan, economic plans and territorial plans. The binding character of the national-economic plans should be suitably linked, and material motivation and value relations must be subordinated to their aims and tasks. The improvement of the system of plan-based management must be based on the application of the experience of fraternal socialist countries, and on the appraisal of our own experience; the following main ways of improving the system are to be taken:

Central national economic planning, which is the basis of planned management of the whole socialist society, must be expanded and elaborated from scientific points of views. This task must be approached systematically, within its entire exacting complex. It is necessary to master theoretically, and in practice to consistently use effective methods of

all-round analysis. Planning must be improved in all respects, from points of organisation, method and technique. On the basis of expedient division of labour in forming and controlling the plan, it is necessary to systematically raise its effectiveness in the economy and the authority it commands among all economic organizations. The internal link-ups of the plan must be improved, and planning discipline on all levels of management must be strengthened. Conditions must be created for the adoption and fulfilment of demanding plans by enterprises and plants. The application of modern computer technology and mathematical planning methods must be systematically promoted. In connection with this to raise the quality and extent of information providing reliable data, indicial and norms.

The management of capital construction must be improved and strengthened so as to ensure the fulfilment of the exacting programme of the fifth Five-Year Plan. The level of its technical and organisational preparation must improve from the branch and regional viewpoints. There must be greater responsibility of organizations taking part in capital construction for the fulfilment of tasks in terms of time, volume and quality.

With regard to the requirements and objectives of the plan, there must be a strengthening of the influence of the State on the development of science and technology, as well as on the management of the research and development base. Economic organizations must be induced to make greater use of new scientific findings, to introduce new technologies, to make suitable adjustments of production programmes for the purpose of obtaining higher technical and economic parameters, to phase out obsolete equipment and replace it by modern, effective equipment.

While the plan is being drafted, care must be taken that material and financial processes are in harmony. This

necessitates a strengthening of the function, better quality and greater liability of financial plans at all levels, while their structure and effect must be adapted to financial economic conditions. Within this system conditions must be created which positively affect the material incentive in organisations and collectives active in the enterprise sphere on the good - particularly long-term - results of work.

It is necessary to form a price system which better expresses the socially required amount of work put into production, while maintaining a stable level of wholesale prices and seeking ways of reducing them. While consistently regulating the price development, prices must be used actively to ensure utmost economy, to stimulate technical progress, to improve quality and make effective changes in the range of production, in keeping with intentions of the national economic plan.

The development of wages is to be strictly subordinated to the principle of remuneration according to the quantity, quality and social importance of work. The existing system of regulating wage funds is to be improved, to fit best the ratio between the volume of wage funds and output. Improved ways of fixing work norms must be introduced, and work must be organized on a scientific basis, to ensure rational use of the labour force .

The existing system of regulating the movement of the labour force must be applied flexibly, in keeping with the aims of the plan and with the actual situation in the various branches of the national economy. A system of periodical education must be introduced to raise the standard of qualification and political preparedness of economic executives at all organisational levels.

In external economic relations, it is necessary to strive for a better use of the criterion of effectiveness of

international exchange, and lay an improved groundwork for speeding up the international socialist economic integration; central management of foreign trade must be strengthened, and at the same time, suitable forms of economic ties of production with foreign trade must be sought.

A system of control making for checking the fulfilment of State plan tasks and assessing economic results must be worked out. In this connection, it will be necessary to increase the accuracy of the system of statistical information, and to improve the information system so as to better meet the requirements of modern management at all organizational levels.

The branch management of the economy is to be strengthened, and a suitable division of powers and responsibility among branch ministries, branch (general) managements and enterprises must be found. At the same time organizational forms and internal management relations must be adjusted to changes in the structure of the economy. It is necessary to greatly improve the conceptual and operative activities of branch ministries and branch (general) managements, with the aim of primarily ensuring a creative and initiative elaboration of tasks contained in the directives of concrete five-year plans for each branch and enterprise. This necessitates improvement of methods used by executive workers, as well as raising the general standard of executive work.

Organizational measures are to be taken to improve the methods of intra-enterprise management, and there must be an increase in khozraschot-based interest in the attainment of prescribed production targets with the lowest possible expenditure of work, material and investments. For this purpose, greater use must be made by enterprise management of economic calculations, calculations of overhead costs, the development of suitable technical and economic indices and optimization studies. Systematic work must be resumed on the fixing of work output norms, and consumption of raw materials, mater-

ials, energy and fuel, and on determining techno-economic indices for the utilization of machinery and equipment.

In the sphere of circulation of products and material-technical supply system, management must be made more effective. The organization of circulation must be rationalized, and the system of economic conditions must be adjusted to operate towards this aim. The effectiveness of legal provisions regulating relationships in the sphere of circulation and material-technical supplies is to be raised; it is necessary to raise the responsibility of suppliers for meeting the requirements of the national economy with appropriate products, and to strengthen consumer-supplier discipline. A greater role is to be played by economic contracts, the observance of which must be enforced.

During the process of further improvement of the system of planned management, greater harmony of material and moral stimuli inducing fulfilment of planned tasks must be sought, and all suitable forms of workers' participation in management must be used.

The development and improvement of the system of planned management must become a systematic process. Large numbers of working people are to actively participate in the work of teams of experts, who will use previous experience gained in this country as well as in other socialist states. Prepared solutions must be experimentally verified in practice so as to ensure a required stability in their implementation and their validity for a longer period.

Principles of the system of planned management valid from 1972 must be concretely stipulated in the draft of the fifth Five-Year Plan.

Systematic work is to be done on a long-term prospect of the national economy as a synthesis of all factors determining the long-term prospect of social development, particularly politico-economic factors, the influence of scientific

and technical progress and social conditions of the entire reproduction process. The work on the long-term prospect up to 1985-1990 must be done in stages: sectional prognoses to be worked out in the first stage, branch concepts in the subsequent stage, and finally an overall long-term prospect of the development of Czechoslovakia's entire national economy. This prospect is to be used as a basis for perspective implementation and research programmes, for a programme of international coordination, for concluding long-term agreements with other states, as well as for the drafting of directives for the sixth Five-Year Plan.

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The development of the national economy in 1971-1975, as provided for by the draft directives, creates conditions for a growth of material resources of the society and for the further rise in the living standard of the people.

The demanding but realistic tasks can be fulfilled only when the development of the entire society is purposefully directed on the basis of a common State plan, the goals and objectives of which must be fully projected into the five-year plans of all branches, sectors, national enterprises and national committees at all levels. This is the way of uniting the efforts of millions of our workers, farmers and members of the intelligentsia towards the goal of greater prosperity of our socialist homeland.

A key to this is in a substantially increased effectiveness of our national economy, better utilization of the existing material and technical base, more efficacious application of science and technology, better management of resources and utilization of reserves at every place of work. Great attention must be paid to non-investment factors of rationalisation by consistently disclosing internal reserves and parti-

cularly by promoting the movement of innovation and inventors in enterprises and plants. A complete transition to intensive economic development requires waging a political struggle against inertia in handling economic questions, against conservative attitudes which impede technical advancement and progressive changes in the structure of production, cooperation and participation in international socialist integration. Concessions to mediocrity and indolence must not be tolerated.

It is essential to place greater responsibility on all economic executives for the fulfilment of planned tasks, to strengthen State discipline and discipline in planning, to be economical in the use of social means and material resources, to adhere to prescribed technological processes, to enforce discipline at work, to keep to construction schedules and delivery terms.

Senior economic executives must take systematical organizational measures to ensure practical application of new scientific and technical findings, and to direct the attention of working teams to the rationalization of economic processes. Complex socialist rationalization is to be a method permanently used in organizational and managerial work, aimed at a steady and effective mobilization of reserves to ensure fulfilment of the State plan. We consider rationalization to be an integral part of management and planning, serving the interest of the working people, and requiring and making possible active participation of working teams, workers and technicians in the management and improvement of production.

We are already working on the tasks of the first year of the fifth Five-Year Plan. Its results will be of great importance for the fulfilment of the whole Five-Year Plan. The development of the national economy has been proceeding well in the first months of this year, thanks to the conscientious efforts of the working people reflected in a broad campaign of pledges made in honour of the 50th anniversary of the Com-

munist Party of Czechoslovakia and the 14th Congress of the Party. The Communist Party will continue to rely on this conscientious initiative, in the coming years as well.

The simple truth, "As we work today, we shall live tomorrow" is bound to stimulate consistent ensuring - and fulfilment of the tasks set in the draft directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan.

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia calls on all senior economic executives, on workers' collectives in plants and enterprises to adopt measures when drafting the five-year plans for branches, sectors, enterprises and national committees, designed to ensure the fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan of national economic development in 1971-1975. Attention is to be centred on the planned increases of production, in order to meet the growing needs of the people, on the fulfilment of demanding export tasks and planned tasks in capital construction, both as regards extent and objectives. Main stress is to be laid on qualitative aspects of future development, such as better utilization of capital assets, savings of fuel and power, raw materials and materials, a more effective labour force policy, increased effectiveness of foreign trade, fast and permanent growth of productivity of labour and quality of products.

The task of all Party organs and organizations is to carry out extensive politico-organizational and ideo-educational activities, making it possible for all working people to fully acquaint themselves with the goals and tasks of the fifth Five-Year Plan, and to participate actively in elaborating and realizing them.

Party bodies and organizations must stand at the head of political efforts aimed at ensuring and fulfilling the aims contained in the Directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan. This

necessitates that questions of economic policy are made a primary object of political work in the Party and the activity of Party bodies and organisations, to raise the role played by the Party in economics and to strengthen its authority. It will be the task of Party organisations to support leading executive workers in implementing strictness at work, in activities aimed at ensuring society-wide interests and in the struggle against placing group and local demands before society-wide interests.

An important role in dealing with economic issues falls to organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). Their task will be to cooperate with the economic management and to create more favourable conditions for the participation of working people in the management of production, to promote purposefully the campaigns of socialist emulation, innovation and improvement, to strive systematically for improving the working and living conditions of the people.

The national committees at all levels will have to perform demanding tasks as regards promoting the development of production forces and overall improvement of the living conditions of the people.

The fifth Five-Year Plan counts with the work and the abilities of women. The qualification of women must be better utilised, they must be appointed to more exacting and responsible posts and conditions must be created for improving their qualifications. Care must be given to providing suitable work possibilities and work environment for women, and an atmosphere of understanding for the problems and worries of employed women.

The tasks and goals of the fifth Five-Year Plan give young people a great opportunity to assert their energy, talent and inclination in connection with the introduction of new, technically better methods, and more rational proce-

dures in everyday work. We attach great importance to the work of the Socialist Union of Youth in winning over all young people for constructive work.

The implementation of the Directives will be a practical school of economic policy in promoting the participation of working people in management. The economic leadership, Party, trade union and Youth organisations, must ensure that the intentions of the fifth Five-Year Plan be elaborated in the form of tasks for every place of work, so that the people will know the perspectives of economic development and can take active part in their creation, specification and realisation. The tasks laid down by the fifth Five-Year Plan will become a basis for promoting and directing the initiative of the working people and socialist emulation, as well as for the agenda of production conferences. This is how to raise the participation of working people in creating and realising the Party's economic policy, which expresses their interests, longings and needs.

The fulfilment of the fifth Five-Year plan will raise still higher the material and cultural standard of the people, strengthen the international position of our country, increase its defence capability, and contribute to the growth of the economic strength of the entire community of the socialist countries. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is convinced that our working people will do everything not only to fulfil the tasks of the fifth Five-Year Plan but also to exceed its targets.

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

approved by the 14th Congress of the
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) is a voluntary, militant and most active union of people sharing the same ideals - communists, which associates the most politically conscious members of the working class, farmers and intelligentsia of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, following the example set by the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union has formed a revolutionary association of workers, farmers and progressive intelligentsia and, at its head led, the working people of our country to the overthrow of the exploiting classes, to the victory of socialism.

After an arduous fight against fascist occupants and after the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, our working people led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, began to build a people's democratic State. In February 1948, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the working class, at the head of the working people, crushed the plots of internal enemies, who tried to reverse this development with the aid of international reactionary forces. The struggle with the reactionary forces and their defeat, strengthened and further developed the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus paving the way for the building of a socialist society. Our country changed from its very foundation. The exploitation of man by man was abolished forever, production means became the property of the people and the principle of socialism "Everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his work" is being applied.

The political and moral unity of the people, the fraternity of the Czech and Slovak nations and the national minorities has strengthened; culture has made great progress. The Czechoslovak State, in which the working people organized themselves, headed by the working class, became a people's organization in the true sense of the word - a socialist State. Socialist production relations prevailed in all spheres of the national economy.

The policy of the Communist Party expresses the most intrinsic interests of the working class and of the whole people. The Party was formed to fight for the cause of the people and it serves the people. At the will of the working people the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has become the leading and directing force in society and in the State. Its leading role in society, which is embodied in the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, lies in the fact that the Party organizes, plans and scientifically substantiates the constructive endeavours of the working people and their fight for the final victory of communism.

On the basis of a scientific analysis, the Party works out the programme and basic conceptions of development of socialist society, through the daily persuading and organizational work of the communists, it wins the support of the working people for its policy and stimulates the creative constructive activity of the people. The strength of the Party lies in its close contact with the people, their life and needs. By directing cadre work and by directing social control, the Party creates the main organizational prerequisites for a purposeful and harmonious development in the political, economic, ideological and cultural life of the country.

The Communist Party is the highest form of a social political organization. Under its leadership, voluntary social organizations are associated in the National Front, which is a political expression of the alliance of all the working people in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The principal task of the Party is the further development of a socialist society and the preparation of the future transition to communism. The Party strives for the constant development of the national economy and of production forces on the basis of the scientific and technical revolution, for the intensification and strengthening of socialist production and social relations. The Party fosters the correct understanding of the social importance of work and the intensification of the socialist attitude to work. It concentrates the strength of the people on fulfilling and surpassing tasks set by the State national economic plan and sees to it that on the basis of work results, the growing needs of society and the needs for the all-round development of each one of its members are satisfied to an ever increasing degree. The Party strives for the further development of a socialist democracy, for an ever greater participation of citizens in the administration of public affairs, and in managing and supervising the economy. It cares for the development of education and instruction of people in the spirit of communist ideals, it constantly intensifies the political and moral unity of the society. In its work, the Party aims for the gradual elimination of differences between physical and intellectual work and between town and countryside.

The Party's ultimate aim is to build up a classless communist society, in which the highest principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" will be applied.

In its work, the Party is guided by the scientific world outlook, by the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which is the basis of its policy and of its everyday organizational work. It creatively develops Marxism-Leninism, fights resolutely against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, against revisionism and dogmatism.

The ideological and organizational unity and compactness of its ranks forms the inviolable basis of the life, construction and entire activity of the Party. The Party bases its work on the consistent adherence to Leninist norms of Party life, on the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, on the all-round development of inner-Party democracy. The Party cleanses itself of people who infringe and fail to fulfil the Party line and the Statutes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who voice and spread opportunist opinions, revisionist conceptions, nationalism, anti-communism and who, by their behaviour, compromise the honoured name of Communist. Further, of those who are permanently passive. Any tendency towards forming factions and groups is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party. Lessons drawn from the political crisis in the Party and in society after the 13th Congress show that deviations from Leninist principles of organization and infringements of the Statutes lead to weakening the unity and action-ability of the Party, its leading role in society, and puts socialist achievements in danger of liquidation.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is an inseparable part of the international communist and revolutionary workers' movement. It actively contributes to strengthening its unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in all its activity it realizes the ideas of proletarian internationalism. The Party uses in a creative way the wealth of experience of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, primarily those of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the proven and respected vanguard of the world communist movement.

The construction and further development of a socialist society in Czechoslovakia, which already in the past was an industrial country, is our contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, and confirms its general validity.

The Party constantly intensifies the fraternity, the firm alliance and the all-round cooperation of the Czechoslovak people with the Soviet people and with the working people of other socialist countries. It strengthens international ties with the working class throughout the world and gives support to nations, which are fighting for their liberation from imperialist and colonialist rule. It ensures the defence ability of the country, fights actively against the aggressive plans of imperialism, strives for promoting friendly contacts with all nations of the world and for peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. It thus contributes to the victory of peace and progress, to the victory of socialism over capitalism throughout the world.

I.

PARTY MEMBERS, THEIR DUTIES AND RIGHTS

1) Any citizen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who recognizes the programme of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, abides by its Statutes and fulfils Party resolutions, actively shares in creating and applying the Party's policy in building a socialist society, works in an organization of the Party and pays membership fees can be a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

2) A Party member has the duty:

a) to implement consistently the policy of the Party, to explain it to the broad masses and to win them for its fulfilment, to strengthen and intensify the Party's contact with the people, to share in mass political work, to be in constant contact with non-Party people at the place of work and of residence, to take careful note of the opinions and needs of the workers and to react to them promptly, to fight everything that impedes the principles of the Party's

policy and its unity; to take active part in the general activity of his primary organization and to participate in Party's political and public work at his place of residence; to see to the full application of the principles of democratic centralism;

b) to strive for the expansion of production and production forces, to set an example of a communist's attitude to work, to be a pioneer of all that is new and progressive, to strive for putting the best experience into practice; to study and master the latest technical achievements, to improve his skill, to be mindful of economic measures, to augment and protect socialist property - the basis of the strength and prosperity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;

c) to take active part in political life, in the administration and management of State and public affairs, in economic and cultural construction, to set an example in the fulfilment of duties to society, to help the development and intensification of socialist social relations;

d) to constantly strengthen and guard the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, as the principal condition of its strength and power, to ensure that words do not differ from deeds, to protect the Party from the infiltration of enemies and careerists, from people whose behaviour is harmful to the authority of the Party; to be politically vigilant, to keep and guard Party and State secrets;

e) to master Marxism-Leninism, to increase his ideological level, to contribute actively towards the education of man for a communist society; to resolutely combat bourgeois ideology, opportunism, revisionism, anti-communism, remnants of the psychology of private ownership, religious prejudices, petit-bourgeois habits and other expressions alien to Marxism-Leninism;

f) to master and to adhere to principles of communist ethics, to be faithful to the cause of communism, to develop new relations in society, based on collectivism, mutual comradesly help and cooperation, to set an example in private life, in his attitude to his family and upbringing of children, to be modest, truthful and honest with the Party and the people;

g) to actively assert the ideas of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, to strengthen the unity between Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities in our country, to fight nationalism and chauvinism; to strengthen the fraternal contacts between our people and the people of the Soviet Union, and between other countries of the socialist camp, and between proletarians and working people of all countries; to be irreconcilable with enemies of socialism and communism, of peace and freedom of nations;

h) to apply and develop Party criticism and self-criticism, to fight against suppression of criticism; to reveal shortcomings which harm the interest of the Party and the State, to strive for their removal and to point them out to Party bodies up to the Central Committee; not to allow manifestations of indifference, to fight immodesty, ostentation, megalomania and self-complacency, to fight endeavours to place local, group and personal interests before the interests of society as a whole;

i) to adhere to the Leninist principles of selection and placing of cadres according to political maturity, professional knowledge, organizational abilities, and practical experience, moral and working qualities; to be irreconcilable with their infringement, to prevent selection and placement of workers according to personal and friendly relations and not to allow responsible positions to be entrusted to incapable people, people who have proved to be inefficient in their work;

j) to observe Party and State discipline, which is equally binding for all members and to expose consistently those who break it; the Party has one discipline, which is valid for all communists without exception, regardless of merits and functions they may have; to carry out entrusted functions with full responsibility to the Party and the working people in keeping with the Party Statutes and the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;

k) to contribute in every way to strengthening the defence ability of the Czechoslovakia Socialist Republic and to fight tirelessly for peace and friendly cooperation among nations.

3) A Party member has the right:

a) to elect and be elected to Party bodies;

b) to participate in free and factual discussions of policy and practical activities of the Party at Party meetings and in the Party press in the spirit of Party principles, to table motions and defend them as long as the Party organization has not adopted a resolution;

c) to assess in the spirit of the set Party line the activity of his organization, its leadership and the activity of other Party bodies, functionaries and Party members;

d) to criticize at Party meetings any member regardless of the position he holds; to demand that persons who suppress or help to suppress criticism and who victimize for it are called to strict Party responsibility up to the point of expulsion from the Party;

e) to attend, in person, meetings of the primary organizations, Party bodies or elected commissions, dealing with his activity and conduct;

f) to address queries, remarks and suggestions to any Party organization up to the Central Committee and to demand a reply.

4) Membership of the Party is open to politically conscious, active workers, farm workers and members of the intelligentsia, devoted to the cause of socialism and communism, who have reached the age of eighteen, individually, through the primary organizations. Young people under the age of 21 are admitted to the Party usually at the recommendation of the Socialist Union of Youth. In the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia there is no place for those who did not and do not act in the spirit of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who consciously and grossly violated socialist laws and who have been sentenced for it, who help cover up acts against the Constitution.

New Party members are admitted according to the following principles:

a) the application and curriculum vitae, provided with recommendations by three Party members with a Party standing of at least three years, who have known the person being recommended from his working and public activities for at least one year, are submitted to the committee of the primary organization;

b) the applicant's admission to the Party is discussed and decided by a general meeting of the primary organization; its decision on the admission of a person to Party membership becomes valid when at least two thirds of the members present at the meeting have voted for it and when it has been endorsed by the district or equivalent town or urban Party committee; the admission of each new member is voted for separately;

c) citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who were formerly members of Communist and Marxist-Leninist workers' parties of other countries, are admitted to Party membership according to the directives of the Central Committee;

d) former members of other political parties must be recommended to the Party by five guarantors, who have been Party members for at least five years and have known the candidate from his work and public activity for at least one year; the admission of former officials of district, regional and central bodies of other political parties is valid only after endorsement by the Central Committee;

e) the guarantors are responsible for the veracity of their recommendations and for the objective interpretation of the political and moral characteristics of the person recommended; members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia do not give recommendations for admission to Party membership;

f) Party membership is valid from the day on which the new member was admitted by the general meeting of the primary organization.

5) Members and candidates have the duty to report within one month to the primary organization at a new place of employment and to register with the organization in their place of residence. The method of keeping a record of Party members and their transfer from one primary organization to another is determined by rules set by the Central Committee.

6) A Party member who is passive and who for a period of three months fails to pay his membership dues without serious reason, and despite repeated reminders, or who for personal or other reasons cannot fulfil his Party duties, is discussed at a general meeting of the primary organization. If it becomes apparent that the Party member has lost permanent contact with the Party organization and does not wish to renew it, and does not fulfil his duties, but has otherwise committed no offence, the annulment of his Party membership is proposed. The general meeting of the primary organization passes a decision thereon, and submits it to the district Party committee for endorsement.

7) A Party member who fails to fulfil his Party duties or commits other offences against the Party Statutes, or deeds indictable by law, may be subjected to the following Party penalties: admonition, reprimand, reprimand with warning and expulsion from the Party, which is the highest Party penalty.

In justified cases, a Party penalty can be inflicted upon a member or candidate by temporarily recalling him from his Party function or public function, which he discharges on behalf of the Party.

Party penalties have an educational mission and are imposed when other methods of Party education and influence, such as comradely criticism, notice or instruction, have been exhausted.

Party penalties imposed are recorded on the registration card. A Party member or the committee of the primary organization may apply for the obliteration of the penalty which is decided upon according to its character after two to four years by the general meeting of the primary organization or by the respective Party body. Obliteration of a Party reprimand does not relate to expulsion from the Party. The procedure is defined by directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

8) The primary organization decides about Party penalties, including expulsion from the Party at its general meeting. The committee of the organization shall duly inform the Party member or candidate-member concerned and invite him to the meeting at which his case will be discussed.

The decision of the primary organization on expulsion from the Party becomes valid when at least two-thirds of the members present at the meeting have voted for it and after the decision has been endorsed by the district committee, which must do so within two months at the latest. A member

has the right to attend general meetings as long as the decision to expel him has not been endorsed by the district committee. After the district committee has endorsed the expulsion, the member is compelled to return his membership card to his primary organization.

In serious cases, the decision to expel a member from the Party or to impose other Party penalties, may be taken by the district, regional or Central Committee. If expulsion from the Party is decided by the district committee, it must be endorsed by the regional committee, if the regional committee decides about the expulsion, it must be endorsed by the Central Committee.

If the extent of the member's or candidate-member's offence is not known, but there is danger that the Party's esteem will be harmed in the eyes of the public, Party membership can be suspended until the case has been thoroughly examined. A Communist whose membership is suspended cannot participate in internal Party life. He is compelled to give his membership-card into the keeping of the district Party committee, through the intermediary of the primary organization.

9) Party penalties (including expulsion from the Party) of members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, regional and district committees, or members of the control and auditing commissions are dealt with by primary organizations with the knowledge of Party bodies, where the members are punished.

The proposal on expulsion from the Party shall be submitted by the primary organization to the body concerned, which shall decide on the expulsion of its member by a two-third majority vote.

10) Expulsion of a member or candidate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from the

Central Committee, and a member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission from the Central Control and Auditing Commission or from the Party ranks is decided by the Party Congress, and, in the period between congresses, by the Central Committee in the case of its members and by the Central Control and Auditing Commission in the case of its members by a two-third majority vote of members present.

11) When deciding on expulsion from the Party, it is necessary to act with the utmost caution and to weigh thoroughly whether the charge against the Party member is substantiated.

If the Party body considers it necessary, it may announce the decision of imposing Party penalties, including expulsion or the revision of unsubstantiated reprimands in the Party press.

12) Membership-cards are the property of the Party; it is the duty of every member and candidate-member to protect it from loss and damage. The loss or damage of a membership-card must be immediately reported by the member to the committee of the basic organization. Disciplinary proceedings are ordered when loss of a membership-card is caused by negligence.

On termination of membership, the Party membership-card is handed over through Party bodies to the Central Committee.

13) Appeals against expulsion from the Party or against imposition of a penalty may be made by the Party member or candidate member within one month, in stages up to the Central Committee, and a revision of the decision may be requested. The penalty remains valid until a higher Party body decides otherwise. The regional or Central Committee shall decide on an appeal against expulsion from the Party within two months at the latest from the day of the submission of the appeal.

II.

CANDIDATES TO PARTY MEMBERSHIP

14) All who are admitted to the Party go through a period of candidacy. The period of candidacy is indispensable for the candidate to acquaint himself with the programme, with the policy and the Statutes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and to prove by his activity that he will be a worthy member of the Party. The Party organization has the duty to help candidates to prepare for admission to full membership and to examine their ideological, political, professional and moral qualities.

15) The procedure of the primary organization in admitting a candidate (individual admission, submission of application and curriculum vitae, recommendations and their checking, decision of the primary organization and its endorsement) is the same as in admission to Party membership.

Young people under the age of 21 and members of the Socialist Union of Youth are admitted as candidates usually on the recommendation of bodies and organizations of the Socialist Union of Youth, which is considered the equivalent recommendation by one member of the Party.

16) The period of candidacy is set for two years. It is inadmissible to prolong it further. The Central Committee may stipulate under what conditions the period of candidacy can be shortened to one year.

17) Candidates cannot be elected to membership in Party bodies or as delegates to conferences and Party congresses. At Party meetings they have a consultative vote. In other respects they have the same duties and the same rights as Party members.

18) Should the candidate during the period of candidacy fail to prove worthy, the Party organization shall reject his admission to Party membership and strike him off the candidate list. The decision of the primary organization to strike off a candidate becomes valid after endorsement by the district committee.

III.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY, INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

19) The guiding principle in the organizational structure and activity of the Party is democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism requires that, in an active and creative way, all organizations and communists put into effect the policy of the Party and the decisions of leading Party bodies, under conditions existing in enterprises and localities; it facilitates the application of generalized experiences of communists and all working people gained in socialist construction and in everyday activity of the entire Party.

Democratic centralism combines the united activity of the Party, its firm organizational structure and strict Party discipline with the greatest degree of inner-Party democracy and initiative of communists. Democratic centralism in the organizational structure means that

a) all leading Party bodies are elected from the lowest to the highest level;

b) Party bodies regularly account for and report on their activities to Party organizations, which elected them, and to higher bodies;

c) the minority and individuals submit in a disciplined way to decisions taken by the majority;

d) resolutions passed by higher bodies are unconditionally obligatory for all lower bodies;

e) Party bodies and organizations can pass resolutions if not less than half their members or delegates are present.

20) The Party is set up according to territorial and production principles. Primary organizations are set up generally according to the place of employment and place of residence of communists and are associated into district and regional organizations; the organization, whose sphere of activity is related to the respective territory is generally superior to all party organizations operating in parts of this territory.

21) In concordance with the policy of the Party each organization solves, in a creative way, tasks in the region of its activity, lead Party members to responsibility for fulfilling Party resolutions and duties stemming from the entrusted functions, sees to it that all members of the Party are a guarantee that State, economic and social bodies and organizations systematically fulfil their missions in public and economic life, in the spirit of the policy and resolutions of the Party.

22) The highest bodies of Party organizations are general meetings for primary organizations, conferences for the district and regional organizations, for territorial Party organization in Slovakia it is the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia and for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia it is the Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Decisions made by Party bodies are valid if voted for by an absolute majority of members present.

The district committee approves the setting up and closing down of primary organizations. If the activity of a

primary organization is contradictory to the policy of the Party and the organization violates the Statutes, does not fulfil resolutions passed by Congress and by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, or is deeply passive, the regional committee, after discussion with the district committee, can dissolve this primary organization. The district committee assesses the attitude of each member and candidate and draws conclusions according to the Party's Statutes and decides about their transfer to other basic organizations.

A higher Party body has the right to annul resolutions passed by a lower body, if these are in disagreement with the Party Statutes.

It is the duty of a higher Party body to deal with the suggestions of a lower Party bodies and to a reply to them.

23) General meetings, conferences and congresses elect committees which direct the entire work of the respective Party organizations in the period between general meetings, conferences and congresses in the sphere of their activity.

At the election of Party committees, each proposal is voted for individually, while all Party members have the right to refuse or to criticize members and candidates proposed for the new committee.

Elected are those for whom an absolute majority of present members have voted at the general meeting of a basic organization, or delegates at a conference or congress. This decision is binding for all members.

24) During the election of Party committees, beginning with the committee of the primary organization up to the Central Committee, heed must be paid to the constant influx of new forces, whilst preserving continuity of direction.

The best tried fighters for the policy of the Party, experienced organizers, politically mature communists from all spheres of our life and devoted to the cause of socialism, are elected to Party committees, irrespective of their current functions.

Party bodies elected at conferences and congresses have in exceptional cases, in the course of the entire election period, the right to coopt up to ten per cent of the total number of elected members. Cooptation becomes valid upon endorsement by a higher Party body (beginning with the district committee and the district control and auditing commission). The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia decide with final validity on the cooptation of their members.

25) The highest principle of Party leadership, negotiations and decision making in all Party bodies and organizations, from the Central Committee down to the basic organizations, is collectiveness. Application of the principle of collective leadership is a necessary condition for adopting correct resolutions, for the correct education and placing of cadres, and guarantees the broad initiative of the Party ranks directed towards a united goal in the spirit of the Party's policy.

The principle of collectiveness in no way weakens personal responsibility for the implementation of entrusted tasks.

The cult personality and violation of inner-Party democracy connected with it reduce the role of the Party and of the peoples' masses, are incompatible with the Leninist principles of Party life and cannot be tolerated in the Party.

26) Free and matter-of-fact discussion of questions of Party policy in the elected Party bodies, at conferences

and general meetings, at aktivs and other Party assemblies is the vested interest of every Party member. Broad inner-Party democracy creates prerequisites for the full development of criticism and self-criticism and for the permanent strengthening of Party responsibility and discipline; Party discipline must be conscious, not mechanical. Increased activity and initiative of all organizations and Party members, their participation in creative Party work, promotes the systematic development of inner-Party democracy.

An expression of collectiveness and inner-Party democracy are all-Party or nation-wide discussions decided upon and organized by the Central Committee to discuss questions of the further political and organizational development of the Party or of the economic and cultural development of society. Discussions within the Party always proceed from the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The purpose of the discussion is to examine submitted problems from all aspects to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the Party and its bondage with the people.

27) Party committees must systematically work with the aktiv, they summon meetings of the aktiv to discuss tasks and to elaborate practical measures for their implementation, utilise the experience and suggestions made by the aktiv, and with its aid organize the working people to fulfilling tasks in production and in the development of the entire life of society.

Through the aktivs, Party committees inform Party organizations about their activity, and, at the same time, with their help they complete their survey on the fulfilment of resolutions in each individual place.

The aktiv discusses and implements Party resolutions; it is inadmissible to summon aktivs for the formal discussion of resolutions.

District and regional committees, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia elect from their members and candidates and from members of the aktiv commissions whose activity helps these bodies to elaborate and realize the political, ideological and economic tasks of the Party.

28) It is the duty of primary organizations and of all Party bodies to ensure, with wide participation of the working people, a timely and effective control of the fulfilment of Party resolutions, to adopt measures aimed at rectifying established shortcomings and to inform higher Party bodies on the state of measures adopted. In their work Party bodies and primary organizations make use of the findings of bodies of people's control and draw Party conclusions therefrom.

IV.

THE SUPREME BODIES OF THE PARTY

29) The Party Congress is the supreme body of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. A regular congress is convened by the Central Committee every five years. An extraordinary Party congress is convened by the Central Committee either of its own initiative or at the request of at least one-third of all members of the Party. Convocation of a congress and its agenda shall be announced by the Central Committee eight weeks before the congress.

The congress can adopt valid resolutions if not less than one half of all Party members are represented at the congress.

The rules of representation of Party members and the method of electing delegates are determined by the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and members of the Central Control and Auditing Commission have an advisory voice at the congress unless they are elected as regular delegates.

30) The Congress of the Party:

a) discusses and approves the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission;

b) determines the Party Line in matters of home and foreign policy, discusses and solves the most important problems of the further development of socialist society, approves the programme and Statutes of the Party;

c) elects the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Central Control and Auditing Commission and determines their composition; only persons who have been Party members for at least eight years can be elected to the Central Committee and to the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

31) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia directs the entire work of the Party in the period between congresses, in particular:

a) elaborates and solves, in the spirit of resolutions adopted by the Party congress, matters of the further development of socialist society, of home and foreign policy;

b) concentrates the activities of Party bodies and organizations on the consistent implementation of the determined line, directs lower Party bodies and helps them develop political and organizational work; directs the People's Militia; supervises the fulfilment of Party resolutions; creates and directs various institutions and enterprises of the Party;

c) guides and supervises the activities of federal and republican representative bodies, governments and other central state bodies, the National Front and central bodies of social organizations through the intermediary of communists and Party groups; directs their activity to the consistent application and implementation of the policy of the Party, and leads them to ensure the timely fulfilment of tasks set down by the State plan, to use with the greatest economy all means to meet social needs with the broadest participation of the working people; leading officials entrusted by the Central Committee with work in State, social, economic and other bodies are responsible to the Central Committee for the implementation of the Party's policy in the entrusted field of activity and in this sense develop with initiative and in a creative way effective methods of management, submit to the Central Committee proposals and recommendations for outlining the main trends in the further development of society, and reports on the fulfilment of tasks;

d) approves proposals of the appointment of members of the Federal Government and of other leading functionaries of central organizations and institutions; of secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and leading secretaries of regional Party committees; appoints the editor-in-chief of Rudé právo;

e) represents the Party in contacts with other parties;

f) regularly inform Party organisations about its work;

g) approves the Party's general budget and audits its fulfilment, distributes material and Party funds and determines the height of membership dues; directs and administers the economy of the Central Committee, its enterprises and institutions;

h) supplements the Central Committee from candidates elected by the Congress, if the number of its members decreases;

i) establishes departments and sections for the practical implementation and control of resolutions.

32) The Central Committee convenes at least three times a year. Candidates of the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission participate at sessions of the Central Committee with an advisory voice.

According to the nature of questions negotiated, the Central Committee invites to its plenary meetings further functionaries of Party bodies, social organizations, State and economic bodies and scientific and cultural workers for active participation.

33) The Central Committee elects from its members:

the Presidium for directing work between plenary sessions of the Central Committee;

the secretariat for managing current affairs, mainly organizing control of the fulfilment of resolutions and the selection of cadres;

the General Secretary and secretaries of the Central Committee.

The General Secretary, secretaries of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission must have been Party members for at least ten years.

The Presidium and secretariat report to the Central Committee on their work.

34) The Central Control and Auditing Commission:

a) observes that the Party Statutes and norms of Party life are adhered to; aids the strengthening of ideologic-

al and organizational unity of the Party; controls the fulfilment of resolutions passed by the Congress and by the Central Committee, concentrates on increasing the efficiency of Party control work, calls to account communists who violate the Party line and the Party Statutes, Party and State discipline, and those who violate Party morale; pays heed to the timely and correct settlement of proposals, suggestions and complaints submitted to the Central Committee;

b) audits the accounts of all Party organizations, enterprises, institutions and establishments, checks the order in membership files and works to raise the standard of Party administration in all Party organizations;

c) on the basis of decisions passed by bodies of the Central Committee, it carries out disciplinary measures; investigates the appeals of Party members against rulings passed by regional Party committees and by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in membership matters and takes decisions thereupon;

d) elects from its members a body for solving membership matters.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission works according to the Statutes of the Party and directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It submits reports about its work and results of control work to the congress and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission is endorsed in his function by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Control and auditing commissions elected at a Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia and at regional and district conferences have similar rights and duties, within the range of their respective territorial organization of the Party.

35) In periods between Party congresses the Central Committee can convene a nation-wide conference to discuss urgent problems of Party policy and to work out the further procedure in fulfilling the line laid down by the Congress. Through the conference it submits to the Party general reports about its work.

The number of delegates and manner of their election is determined by the Central Committee.

36) After being passed by the Central Committee, resolutions of the nation-wide conference are binding for all organizations and Party members.

V.

ORGANIZATIONS AND SUPREME PARTY BODIES IN SLOVAKIA

37) The territorial organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Slovakia is the Communist Party of Slovakia, which is formed by regional organizations of the Party in Slovakia. In its activity the Communist Party of Slovakia abides by the resolutions of the Congress and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

38) The supreme body of the Communist Party of Slovakia is the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, and, in the period between congresses, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

39) With approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia convenes a regular congress every five years.

An extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia may be convened with the consent of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, if at least one-third of the members of basic Party organizations in Slovakia demand it, or at the request of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia; in urgent cases an extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia may be convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The convocation of a congress and its agenda will announced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia eight weeks before the congress.

Delegates to the Congress are elected at regional conferences according to rules stipulated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in concordance with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and members of the Central Control and Auditing Commission participate at the Congress with an advisory voice, unless they are elected as regular delegates.

40) The Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia:

a) discusses and passes the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commissions, and of other bodies;

b) discusses the Party's tasks in Slovakia;

c) elects the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Slovakia; only persons who have been Party members for at least eight years can be elected to the Central Committee and to the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

41) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia implements in Slovakia resolutions passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, solves political and organizational questions of the Party in concordance with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, places cadres and controls the work of regional organizations in Slovakia, elaborates questions of national and regional character, in concordance with nation-wide and society-wide interests; submits regular reports about its work to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia proposes to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia workers from Slovak regions to higher Party and public posts; approves its own budget and checks its fulfilment, directs and administers the economy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and of its enterprises and institutions.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, proceeding from resolutions adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, regulates and checks through Party groups the work of the Slovak National Council, the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic and social organizations in Slovakia.

42) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia convenes at least three times a year. Candidates to the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Control and Auditing Commission participate at sessions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia with an advisory voice.

43) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia elects from its members:

the Presidium for directing political, organizational and educational work in the period between sessions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia;

the secretariat for managing current work, mainly organizing control of the fulfilment of resolutions and the selection of cadres;

the First Secretary and secretaries of the Central Committee.

The First Secretary and Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia must have been Party members for at least ten years.

The Presidium and secretariat submit to the Central Committee reports on their activities.

VI.

REGIONAL AND DISTRICT PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

44) In their activity regional and district organizations of the Party abide by the Party Statutes, the resolutions of Congress and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; in the field of their activity they ensure the implementation of the Party's policy.

In concordance with the Party's political line and on the basis of the plan of the national economy regional Party committees elaborate the basic trends of regional development, direct district committees of the Party and help them in their work; they guide functionaries whom they have entrusted with work in regional, State, economic, social and other bodies to the systematic application of the Party's policy in their respective spheres.

District committees of the Party direct the work of

primary organizations, town, local, factory and enterprise committees and help them to realize the political, ideological and economic tasks of the Party, pay heed to Party organizations in developing independent initiative, and to this purpose organize the schooling of their functionaries; they strive for communists to systematically spread Party influence among the working people and citizens.

45) The main duties of regional and district organizations of the Party and their leading bodies are:

a) to concentrate the endeavour of all communists and of other working people on an all-round development of the national economy, on fulfilling tasks set by the State plan in industry and agriculture; to determine the basic political and economic directives for the all-round development of regions and districts in keeping with the national economy plan; to make the maximum use of all resources in regions and districts for satisfying the needs of the entire society, to fight for the greatest economy and against all unhealthy local tendencies; to ensure tasks connected with the further raising of the material and cultural standards of the working people;

b) to direct ideological work, to organize the study of Marxism-Leninism and the schooling of Party members and of other working people, to direct and control the local press and the activity of cultural and adult-education institutions;

c) to regulate and control through communists and Party groups the work of national committees, trade union bodies and other social organizations; to guide them to develop activities which would lead to an ever wider participation of the working people in management and administration and to make full use of their initiative; to strengthen the responsibility and support the independent creative approach

of leading functionaries and workers to fulfilling Party resolutions; to see to it that State, economic and social bodies are not substituted, and not to permit the merging of Party tasks with those of other bodies, and unnecessary double-tracking in work;

d) to consistently carry out the selection and placing of cadres according to principles stipulated by the Central Committee of the Party and to supervise their education; to strengthen with cadres the decisive managing links of industrial and agricultural production and of national committees;

e) to check the fulfilment of resolutions passed by the Central Committee and their own resolutions, to generalize the best experiences in Party work and production practice and to organize their spreading;

f) to submit on their own accord to higher Party bodies proposals for solving important questions on the political, economic and cultural development of the region and district; to inform systematically higher Party bodies and primary organizations about their activity;

g) to distribute Party funds within the range of their activities; to approve the budgets of the regional and district organizations and to check their fulfilment, to direct and administer the economy of the regional and district committees and their institutions.

46) The regional organization is formed by all district organizations of the Party in the region.

The city organizations in Prague and Bratislava are equal to regional organizations; these are formed by balliwick organizations on the territory of Prague and Bratislava, which have the same rights as district organizations.

47) District organizations comprise all primary organizations of the Party in the district.

In large towns, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, may set up town organizations of the Party on the level of district organizations, comprising all primary organizations in the town. In these town organizations, it is possible to set up bailiwick committees, which operate with the rights of local Party committees.

According to requirements, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia may set up other Party organizations, grant them certain rights of district committees or place them on the level of district organizations.

Leading Bodies of Regional Party Organizations

48) The highest body of a regional organization is the regional conference, and, in the period between conferences, the regional committee.

A regular regional conference is convened by the regional committee once in two to three years. An extraordinary regional conference can be convened with the consent of the Central Committee of the Party, if at least one third of members of primary organizations in the region request it; in urgent cases, an extraordinary regional conference may also be convened by the regional or Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The convocation of a regional conference and its agenda must be announced to district organizations four weeks before the conference. Delegates are elected at district conferences held prior to the regional conference, according to rules stipulated by the regional committee in concordance with the Central Committee.

Delegates duly elected at district conferences have a casting vote. Members and candidates of the regional committee and members of the control and auditing commission attend regional conferences with an advisory voice, unless they have been elected as regular delegates.

49) The regional conference:

a) discusses and approves the report on the activity of the regional committee and the report of the control and auditing commission; it discusses other questions concerning Party, economic and cultural construction; it outlines the principal tasks of the regional organization for a future period, based upon resolutions passed by congresses, national conferences and by the Central Committee of the Party;

b) elects the regional committee, the control and auditing commission and delegates for the Party congress; only members with a Party standing of at least five years can be elected to a regional committee and to the control and auditing commission.

50) The regional committee meets at least six times a year, solves in concordance with Party policy urgent questions of regional and district development, controls the fulfilment of resolutions and places cadres.

Candidates to the regional committee and the Chairman of the Regional Control and Auditing Commission attend meetings with an advisory voice.

51) The regional committee elects from its members the Presidium, secretariat and secretaries of the regional committee. The head secretary of a regional committee must have a Party standing of at least ten years.

The Presidium of the regional committee directs work in period between meetings of the regional committee, organizes and checks the fulfilment of resolutions.

The secretariat of the regional committee directs and checks the work of regional committee departments and of their workers.

The Presidium and the Secretariat report on their activities to the regional committee.

Leading Bodies of District Party Organizations

52) The highest body of the district organization is the district conference, and, in the period between conferences, the district Party committee.

53) Regular district conferences are convened by the district committee once in two to three years. Extraordinary conferences may be convened with the consent of the Central Committee, at the request of at least one-third of members of primary organizations in the district or at the suggestion of the district committee or of higher Party bodies.

Delegates to district conferences are elected at the general meetings of primary organizations according to rules determined by the regional committee in agreement with the Central Committee.

Members and candidates of the district committee and members of the control and auditing commission attend district conferences with an advisory voice, unless they are elected as regular delegates.

54) The district conference:

a) discusses and approves the report on the activities of the district committee and the report of the control and auditing commission; discusses other questions of Party, economic and cultural construction in the district; outlines

the main tasks of the district organization for the next period as resulting from the decisions of higher Party bodies;

b) elects the district committee, the control and auditing commission and delegates to the regional conference; only a member with a Party standing of at least four years may become member of the district committee and of the control and auditing commission.

55) The district committee endorses the establishment of primary Party organizations, directs and controls their activities; keeps files of Party members.

56) The district committee meets at least six times a year. Candidates of the district committee and the Chairman of the District Control and Auditing Commission attend meetings of the district committee with an advisory voice.

57) The district committee elects from its members a presidium and the secretaries of the district committee. The head secretary of the district committee must have a Party standing of at least eight years.

In the period between meetings of the district committee, the presidium of the district committee directs work, organizes and controls the fulfilment of resolutions. It directs and controls the work of district committee departments and of its workers. It reports to the district Party committee on its activities.

VII.

TOWN, LOCAL, FACTORY AND ENTERPRISE COMMITTEES

58) Town Party committees are set up with the approval of the district committee; in other places, where there

are several primary organizations, local committees are set up; in large factories and enterprises, with several primary organizations, factory Party committees are set up with the approval of the regional committee, or enterprise Party committees with the approval of the Central Committee of the Party.

Town, local, factory and enterprise committees help the district Party committee in the day-to-day direction and guiding of the activities of primary organizations, in the fulfillment of the main tasks of the factories, enterprises, in towns and communities.

In large enterprises of nation-wide importance and in towns, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia may grant to the enterprise, factory and town committees certain rights of district Party committees.

59) The chief duties of the town, local committee are:

a) together with primary organizations to concentrate the efforts of all communists, the working people and citizens towards implementing the policy of the Party, towards developing the political, economic and cultural life of the town or village; for this purpose to develop mass political work among citizens, encourage the initiative and activity of the population in the management of the affairs of the town or community;

b) to guide communist officials of the national committee, social organizations and leading workers in local industry, agricultural enterprises, services, trade, the health system and education towards a consistent implementation of Party decisions, and to strive for the systematic improvement of all services, while satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the population; through Party-political and educational work to aid increasing participation of citizens

in the management of local affairs, towards strengthening the role of the national committee, its commissions and the aktiv of voluntary workers, to lead them towards disclosing and using local resources and reserves; to fight against all unhealthy local tendencies;

c) to organize the ideological work in town and village, the education of the Party aktiv, to attend to the communist education of Party members and other citizens;

d) to propose candidates to the municipal or local national committee, to solve other matters of cadre policy within the scope determined by the district committee.

60) The main duties of a factory and enterprise committee are:

a) together with the primary organizations to guide all the working people towards the fulfilment of the State Plan, to help develop socialist competition and new technologies, see to the application of progressive methods, scientific discoveries and experiences of the best workers in production, in all activities of the factory or enterprise to guard and ensure the interests of society and combat all unhealthy local tendencies; to guide the economic management of the factory or enterprise to create favourable conditions for the participation of working people in managing production and for the fulfilment of the tasks of the national economy plan, and thus to help in the political and educational work of the primary Party organizations at places of work; to use the right of supervising the activities of the economic management in the factory or enterprise;

b) together with primary organizations to ensure the purposeful education, selection and appointment of cadres in the enterprise, to care for the systematic growth of the political and professional level of all the working people;

c) to care for the systematic growth of the standard of Party-political and organizational work of primary organizations; to help primary organizations in educational work and in ensuring all political and economic tasks;

d) to develop the work of the organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and of the Socialist Union of Youth, and guide them towards ensuring the main political, economic, cultural and educational tasks in the entire enterprise.

Factory or enterprise committees rely in all their activities on the primary Party organizations in factories and enterprises and contribute towards a systematic strengthening of their role.

61) Members and candidates of town, local, factory and enterprise committees are elected at general plenary meetings of communists or at conferences of delegates from all primary organizations in the locality, factory or enterprise, for a period of two to three years. Town, local, factory and enterprise committees elect from among their midst a chairman, who must have a Party standing of at least five years. They report on their activity to the district committee and to primary organizations within the sphere of their activities.

The town, local, factory and enterprise committees discuss and approve the budgets of primary Party organizations in the locality, factory or enterprise, verify their fulfilment and submit their own budgets to the district Party committee.

Town, local, factory and enterprise conferences or general plenary meetings elect control and auditing commission,

VIII.

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

62) Primary organizations are the basis of the Party. They are active among the working people, rally them round

the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, unify their efforts in building a socialist society. In the range of their activities - in lively contact with the working people - they take an active part in creating and implementing the Party's policy, solve and ensure the fulfilment of all local political, economic, ideological and educational tasks of the Party, which are in the forefront of the interest of the working people, in harmony with the goals and requirements of the entire society. They are responsible for the policy of the Party being carried out by everyday mass political work of the communists among the working people, their exemplary approach to the fulfilment of tasks at places of work and by their participation in the social life in the place of residence.

According to directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia primary organizations form in enterprises, transport and commercial organizations, in state farms, machine and tractor stations, in agricultural cooperatives, offices, schools, institutions, in the units of the armed forces, in villages, towns, and so on, if there are at least five Party members.

63) In enterprises, factories and offices where there is a greater number of Party members, primary organizations may be formed in workshops, departments, on construction sites and in production sections. These primary organizations elect the factory or enterprise committee at factory Party meetings or at conferences of delegates.

Primary organizations having a greater membership may create sectional Party organizations. Primary and sectional organizations set up Party groups according to working sections, brigades etc., which elect their head. The duty of Party groups is to organize the fulfilment of the resolutions passed by general meetings of primary organizations within the range of their

activity, and see that all members shall correctly fulfil their basic duties.

64) The right of primary organizations to admit and expel members, to impose Party penalties, to elect delegates to conferences, to conduct their economy according to a budget may be accorded by district committees to sectional organizations in large industrial enterprises, in large unified agricultural cooperatives and in state farms.

65) The general meeting is the highest body of the primary organization and a school for educating communists. In harmony with the Party policy, it advances the main trends and tasks for the political, organizational, ideological and educational work in the range of activity of the primary organization. It deals with and decides the main tasks concerning the place of work and locality, and the suggestions and recommendations of the working people. It provides Communists with experiences and arguments for political work. It passes resolutions, imposes tasks upon Party members, determines the way of their fulfilment and their control. In the spirit of the line advanced by the Party, it assesses the activity of the committee and of the entire organization, of all officials and members.

The basic duty of every Party member is to take an active part in general meetings and in the fulfilment of their resolutions.

General meetings are held once a month. The meeting is prepared by the committee, usually with all members of the organization, in close cooperation with the wide aktiv. According to the nature of the problems discussed, non-Party people may be invited to attend general meetings, especially leading workers from production, officials of State and economic bodies and other social organizations; the organization

consults them on the best way to solve problems and fulfilling Party directives.

In large primary organizations, where there are several sectional organizations, general meetings of primary organizations are convened at times fixed by the committee of the primary organization or at the request of sectional organizations, at least once in three months. Sectional organizations summon general meetings once a month.

66) The constituent or annual general meeting elects the committee of the primary or sectional organization for a term of two years; the number of its members is determined by the district committee. An organization with less than ten members elects a three-member committee or, according to conditions and with the consent of the district committee, a trustee and his substitute.

67) The committee of the primary and sectional organization elects the chairman, who must have a Party standing of at least three years. An exception may be made by the district committee.

The committee ensures the fulfilment of decisions adopted by general meetings, in keeping with them it directs, all work of the Party organization between general meetings. It makes monthly reports to the general meeting on its activities and the state of the organization.

The committee of the primary organization charges two to three members with checking the economy of financial and other means of the primary organization and with verifying how the directives of the Central Committee concerning the keeping of membership files and Party administration are being adhered to.

68) The duties of a primary Party organization are:

a) to implement the Party policy in the sphere of its activities; provide communists and non-Party people with political and ideological weapons, develop and organize their initiative in fulfilling the tasks of the further development of socialist society; to strive for the fulfilment of targets set by the economic plan of the enterprise and workshops, see to the systematic raising of labour productivity by developing and applying new technologies, fight for the highest possible economy and quality of production, for the maximum utilization of internal reserves, for the correct application of material and moral incentives; to create conditions for extending the participation of the working people in socialist emulation; see that the working people improve their skill and education, lead them towards a conscious communist approach to work, to the observance of State and working discipline, to augmenting social wealth and to a general improvement of the living and working environment;

b) to admit new members to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, organize their education and see that they master the programme and the Statutes of the Party;

c) to organize the active participation of communists in solving and ensuring all tasks and resolutions of the Party organization, being aware of the responsibility the Party has for each of its members in leading communists, to set examples at work and to abide consistently by the principles of communist ethics, to be devoted to the cause of the Party and the people, to care for the political and technical education of communists;

d) constantly to strengthen and guard the ideological and organizational unity of the Party; to organize for communists and other working people the study of Marxism-Leninism in close affinity with the practical work of socialist and communist construction, to fight against petit-bourgeois

ideology and all attempts at a revisionist distortion of Marxism-Leninism, or its dogmatic interpretation;

e) to organize effective mass political work, explain the policy of the Party and win the working people for it, consult them on all important problems, convene public Party meetings and discuss with the working people the important problems of the enterprise or locality, and problems of internal and foreign policy;

f) to carry out propaganda and educational work among the working people, educate them in the spirit of communism, fight against individualism and all relics of the past; lead the working people towards the broadest possible participation in the management of State and public affairs; lead a purposeful instructive campaign among the organizers of production, foremen and technicians, thus helping to raise their responsibility for the fulfilment of production targets, observance of technical and technological measures and for the organization of work, consult them and make use of their knowledge and experiences in political-organizational activities;

g) to create conditions for the development of criticism, to oppose firmly their suppression, combat bureaucratism, wastage of state means, irresponsibility and lack of discipline, compromise, and all shortcomings hampering the development of a socialist society.

h) to see purposefully to the preparation of the people, to the correct selection, education and appointment of personnel in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and state farms, in localities, etc., control their activity and help them in a comradely way in their work;

i) to help higher Party bodies in their work, consult them and be accountable to them for their activities;

j) to take an active part in the solution of the principal tasks of the development of the town or locality, strive

for the creation of a socialist style of living, environments and relations among people; to guide all communists at the place of residence towards developing the working and social activity of the citizens; to encourage the initiative of social organizations in enterprises and localities, to lead communist officials of social organizations and local national committees towards the consistent implementation of Party policy in the sphere entrusted to them.

69) Party organizations in production, transport and commercial establishments and enterprises, in machine and tractor station, at state farms, in agricultural cooperatives, in project-design organizations and research institutes immediately connected with production have the right to control how the management of the enterprise ensures the solution of the substantial aspects of the development of the establishment or enterprise without replacing its activity; independently to study and check the state of plan fulfilment and increase the responsibility of communists in economic management for the development of production and the economy of the establishment or enterprise.

In this activity they make use of the experience of the working people, trade union and youth organizations and the experiences of the commissions of people's control; they unify the efforts of workers' collectives and see that the enterprise or establishment shall fulfil their obligations towards society.

Party organizations have the duty to support the efforts of leading economic workers in ensuring the policy of the Party and tasks of developing production and services set by the national economy plan.

70) Party bodies and organizations in production, transport and commercial establishments and enterprises give their views concerning the appointment of economic heads in the sphere of their activities.

71) Party organizations at ministries, central, regional district and town offices, in the head offices of production economic units, at cultural, scientific and other institutions are obliged:

a) to be steadfast proponents of Party policy and to supervise the observance of the directives and decisions of Party bodies at their places of work, to lead officials towards responsible fulfilment of their duties, to combat formalism and bureaucratism in the work and actions of the appropriate working sections, offices, etc.;

b) to control the settlement of suggestions, proposals and complaints lodged by the working people;

c) to check the management of funds allotted for the running of offices and institutions;

d) to see to the observance of the principles guiding the selection and appointment of personnel so as to achieve an improvement in the work of the office or institution and the individual workers; to see to the education of the workers towards responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them, towards the observance and implementation of State discipline.

Primary organizations in the aforesaid offices and institutions shall assist the Central Committee and other Party bodies concerned in supervising the work of the offices and their leading officials. Reports on discovered shortcomings and proposals for improving the activities of the office or institution shall be submitted to the head of the office and the Party body concerned.

THE PARTY AND YOUTH

72) One of the Party's basic tasks is the systematic and purposeful care for the education of children and young people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism.

The Party strives for young people to resist bourgeois and petit-bourgeois relics, to have the moral features of communist man, and for the best members of the Socialist Union of Youth to be admitted to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Party gains the young generation for the perspectives of the further development of socialism and sets demanding tasks before it. It sees to it that the young people's share in the development and management of socialist society be increased. It supports their active participation in fulfilling society-wide tasks in the political, economic and cultural field; it sees to it that socialist society and its bodies create ever better conditions for the life, work and social usefulness of youth, leads communists in bodies and institutions of the State and in social organizations to the consistent implementation of its policy towards children and youth.

In their work among children and youth Party bodies and organizations rely mainly on the Socialist Union of Youth and on its inseparable part - the Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Union of Youth.

73) Party organizations guide young members and candidates of the Party to become the most active members and functionaries of the Socialist Union of Youth and of the Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Union of Youth.

PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ARMED FORCES

74) Party organizations in the armed forces are guided in their activities by the Party Statutes. They are formed and they work according to the directives of the Central Committee of the Party.

75) In their every-day activities they ensure the fulfilment of the Party policy in the armed forces and rally servicemen closely around the Communist Party. They educate them in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, see that they are in permanent contact with the life and work of the people. They guide them towards exemplary fulfilment of tasks in political and combat readiness, towards strengthening military discipline and towards mastering modern combat equipment.

76) Party work in the Armed Forces is directed by the Central Committee of the Party.

77) Party bodies and organizations in the Armed Forces maintain close contact with local Party bodies, keep them informed on political activities in the military units, make use of their experiences in their work and lead their members towards active participation in the work of Party organizations in the locality and in preparing the population for the defence of the Socialist Republic.

CLUBS OF COMMUNIST DEPUTIES
AND PARTY GROUPS IN REPRESENTATIVE BODIES
AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

78) Clubs of Communist deputies are formed in the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council.

Party groups are formed in national committees, in elected bodies of the trade unions, youth, cooperatives, the unions of artists and of other social organizations at their congresses, conferences and meetings, where there are at least three members.

Clubs of Communist deputies and Party groups abide in their activity by the policy and Statutes of the Party, are subordinate to the appropriate Party body and it is their duty to abide, in all matters, by the resolutions of the latter.

Their mission is to defend and implement the policy of the Party and to strengthen in all respects the Party's influence among non-Party people; to assess the activity of communists, the way they fulfil their tasks in bodies and organizations, with which they are entrusted by the Party; to unify the efforts of all communists towards ensuring that the role of representative bodies and social organizations be consistently fulfilled in the development of socialist society.

Clubs of Communist Deputies and Party groups in representative bodies lead all their deputies towards mass-political work among the electorate and towards accounting for their activities. They strive for the strengthening of State discipline, socialist legality, the socialist style of work in

State bodies and the abolition of expressions of bureaucratism.

Party groups in social organizations help increasing their role in the life of socialist society, in developing educational, interest and other socially useful activities at places of employment and in localities.

XII.

PARTY FUNDS

79) The funds of the Party and its organizations are derived from membership dues, incomes from Party enterprises and other revenue. The rate of membership dues is determined by the Central Committee.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of Slovakia, delivered
at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia

Dear Comrades, Delegates and Guests!

The report of the Central Committee of the Party submitted to the 14th Congress gives an authentic balance sheet of the results of the militant road taken by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the results of the half-century of struggle of the Party for the interests of the working class and the peoples of Czechoslovakia. It evaluates in particular the recent period which it characterizes as the most difficult and most complicated in the whole fifty-year history of the Party. The report also contains a lesson showing the starting point and the goals, so that we may direct our efforts towards the present and the perspective tasks in the advancement of the society as they were discussed by Comrade Husák.

Communists in Slovakia highly appreciate the principled stand and the resoluteness with which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, after April 1969, put into practice measures for overcoming the crisis within the Party and the society, to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, its leading role in the society, to restore and strengthen the bonds of friendship and alliance with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

Annual membership meetings, district and regional conferences as well as the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, have explicitly acknowledged the Lesson from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We

have once more gained the conviction that the attitude of the Party, its leading bodies and members, to their own mistakes, their self-critical approach, is the Leninist condition for the revolutionary party of the working class. A critical approach means not only to recognize mistakes and to discuss them, but also to point the way out, to eradicate mistakes and solve problems. And this is a characteristic feature of the course embarked on in April 1969. The approval of the Lesson by members is proof that we are on the right road, that the Party has gained a Marxist-Leninist character.

An evaluation of the past developments shows that the aim of the rightwing-opportunist and anti-socialist forces in 1968, was the same in Slovakia as in the Czech Lands, though the intensity of its influence was less. Among other factors of great importance for the development of the situation was the fact that in the leading bodies of the Communist Party of Slovakia in the first half of 1968, under the guidance of Comrade Vasil Biľak, a group of comrades was formed which defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism and opposed the anti-socialist forces. On the other hand, in the Summer months of 1968, with the constant increasing of the provocative nationalist, anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign, in Slovakia too, a dangerous counter-revolutionary situation gradually took shape. In August 1968, life had reached such a stage of dissolution that it was possible to avoid bloodshed, safeguard socialism and socialist achievements only with the help of the socialist allies. For this reason, the perceptive section of communist and non-communists understood the arrival of the allied armies as an act of fraternal international aid. The aid of the allied countries, on the one hand, and the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet hysteria in which the rightwing competed with the most reactionary anti-communist inciters on the other hand, roused the conscience of a great part of the Party members who began to realize the unavoidability of a struggle and a part-

ing of the ways with the social-democratic, revisionist and opportunist forces and tendencies, with those forces and tendencies which for many years had infiltrated into the Party and which, in 1968, provided scope for the reactionary anti-socialist forces. A great influence in this cognition and this differentiation was exerted by the extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia in 1968. It must be said that its first part was entirely governed by the rightwingers who made use of the atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria and the forum of the Vysočany Assembly. With its content, its provocative appeal against the entry of the allied armies and agreement with the conclusions of the Vysočany Assembly, this part of the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia was at variance with the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

In its second part, after the arrival of the delegation from the central committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which was headed by Comrade Husak, the Congress took on a different character.

Comrade Husák informed the Congress of the content of the Moscow Protocol, he took an unqualified stand for its implementation and oriented the delegates towards strengthening and expanding the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Under the influence of the principled address of Comrade Husák, the extraordinary Congress approved the procedure of the delegation in Moscow, voiced its assent with the agreements in the Moscow Protocol and denied the legality of the Vysočany Assembly. So it, in fact, annulled the conclusions of the first part of the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia. Despite the fact that incorrect views were voiced at the Congress, incorrect documents were adopted and some exponents of the rightwing were elected to posts, the conclusions of the extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia were of great importance for disrupting the nationalist unity, for intensify-

ing the differentiatational process and for restoration of the unity of the Party on Leninist principles in the whole Republic.

With his principled stand at the Congress, Comrade Husák placed himself at the head of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist forces against the rightwing, which was also of great assistance to communists in the Czech Lands, and the skillful, resolute steps taken against the rightwing by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia headed by Comrade Štrougal, were a pillar of support for the Marxist-Leninist forces in Slovakia.

The uniform procedure of these forces in the Czech Lands and in Slovakia frustrated the intentions of the rightists to prolong the crisis and to maintain the society on the brink of catastrophe. This uniform procedure made it possible, in April 1969 and in the subsequent months, to create a new leadership of the Party. Its firm Leninist course meant the defeat of the rightwing, the cleansing of the Party and the gradual restoration of its Marxist-Leninist character, its leading role. It meant the overcoming of the threat of economic breakdown, the resumption of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other allied countries.

Comrades,

On the occasion of the fifty-years' jubilee of the Party, when we are reflecting over the militant road it has taken, the purpose of its struggle for the social and national liberation of the people, we are drawing up the balance sheet of this struggle. Let reactionary propagandists and anti-communist, imperialist centres slander our past development as they will, let the rightists proclaim that socialism in this country has not solved a single social problem of the people, our socialist present, the life of millions of people convicts them of fraud and deception. They are also convicted of fraud and deception by the results which the

Czechoslovak people have achieved in the years of socialist construction.

The whole of our Czechoslovak homeland, and not least present-day Slovakia is a lucid example of the viability and validity of the Leninist ideals, the correctness of the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It is not by chance that such attention was aroused at the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia by the statement that industry in Slovakia now produces in 12 days the same volume of production as for the whole year in 1937. Industrial production in Czechoslovakia increased more than sevenfold up to 1970 compared with 1937. In Slovakia the increase was 23.5 times. Agricultural production in Slovakia has increased by 73 per cent compared with the pre-war level. In 1937, Slovakia's share in the production of the whole State in industry was 7.8 per cent and in agriculture 23 per cent. In 1970, its share in industry was 23.5 per cent and in agriculture 32 per cent.

The vigorous growth in production made it possible to raise the living standard of the people, their education and culture. Life in the former impoverished, stagnating Slovakia, from where the population was emigrating, has changed markedly to the benefit of working man.

How could Slovakia overcome so rapidly its notorious backwardness and in the course of two decades take its place among the modern advanced states? We achieved this thanks to the fact that we defeated the bourgeoisie and that the working class and all the working people became the managers of their own country.

We achieved this on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party. We achieved it thanks to the Leninist solution of the nationality problem, thanks to the assistance of the Czech working class, the close cooperation between our fraternal nations and nationalities.

We achieved it under the condition of Czechoslovakia belonging to the countries of the socialist community, under the condition of the development of friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The working people of Slovakia are aware that only under socialism could their creative ability, their diligence and talent find such mass application. The results of the efforts of the Party to find a Marxist-Leninist solution to the nationality question is also the federative arrangement of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia stressed that federation expresses the interests of both our nations, it creates conditions for their best development and for their rapprochement. On the foundation of Czechoslovak statehood, both national republics can fully develop and through this economic and cultural advancement they can strengthen the unity of the joint State, its economic power and the unity of the Czechoslovak people. A unity which has stood the test in the past, which has come through even difficult trials, which has borne fruit and today forms a reliable foundation for further successes in socialist construction. Making use of the strength and advantages of the uniform Czechoslovak economy, the more rapid development of Slovakia created conditions for a rational use of resources for the benefit of the whole Czechoslovak economy. Intensive utilization of existing material-technical bases and their further expedient development will increasingly contribute to raising the effectivity of the Czechoslovak economy and to growth in the standard of living in both national republics.

This basic task is set by the draft directives for the 5th Five-Year Plan. It is in accordance with the interests of the whole State as well as the interests of both national republics. The Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, in keeping with the standpoints of the regional

and district committees and of party organizations, voiced agreement and full support for the draft directives.

It highly appreciated the sober, realistic, though mobilizing course of the draft directives. The Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, proceeded from the fact that apart from the realization of important capital investments, the main source of the economic development of Slovakia lies in making intensive use of basic funds, in maximum assessment of raw and other materials and power supplies. This makes all the more urgent the requirement for changes to be made in the structure of production and work, the necessity for making full use of the results of science and technology.

We appreciate that the program of economic levelling up will continue to be applied in the 5th Five-Year Plan. According to the draft directives, the volume of industrial production in Czechoslovakia is to rise by 36 per cent and in Slovakia by 57 per cent. Gross agricultural production is to grow in Czechoslovakia by 14 per cent and in Slovakia by 15 per cent. The volume of building work in the whole State will increase by 38 per cent and in the Slovak Socialist Republic by 40 per cent.

With the extensive capital construction in Slovakia, measures will be taken to ensure that building enterprises and equipment in Slovakia share also in building projects in the Czech Socialist Republic, particularly in the Northern Bohemian region, in the interest of covering the needs of the whole State.

We are aware of the fact that the further development of the economy in Slovakia continues to be conditioned by the requirements and possibilities of the uniform Czechoslovak economy and its effective participation in the international socialist economic integration.

Comrades,

Among the important conditions for fulfilment of the ambitious tasks of the 5th Five-Year Plan in Slovakia and in the whole Czechoslovak Socialist Republic belongs the improving of the system of planned management of the national economy. In the process of cleansing the system of revisionist silt, we come up against two harmful tendencies. On the one hand, there is the persistent endeavour to undermine the principle of planned management of the socialist economy from revisionist positions, particularly evident in weakening the function of the plan by allowing non-accountability and arbitrariness. On the other hand, there are attempts to proclaim the very principle of the system of management, approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in January 1965 as a product of revisionism. We cannot approve of these incorrect and unacceptable tendencies.

The energetically developing economy objectively impels constant improvement of the system and methods of planned management.

We give full support to the approach taken and intentions of the Central Committee to continue work on improving the system as was discussed in his report by Comrade Husák. We have the possibility and the obligation to use, in addition to our own knowledge, the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in this. At the same time it is necessary to stress the unavoidability of a shift from individual to complex utilization of the economic-mathematical methods and computers in the planning and management of the economy.

The years of socialist industrialization have meant a speedy growth in the number of workers in the whole State, particularly in Slovakia. The rapid growth in the number of working people, their concentration in large factories, has

been accompanied by efforts to master modern, exacting forms of production. The results achieved testify to the talent and ability of the working class and technicians who have learnt, as they went along, the art of production and the art of management. I think that our pride in this aspect of industrialization is also justified. At the same time, however, we must see the other side of the coin, namely, what it means to make a sudden leap from the conditions of small-scale production to modern, large-scale industrial production in which increasing use is being made of complex mechanization and gradually also, elements of automation. The socialist scientific-technical revolution will not rest content with an average grade of skill in the worker, with an average office clerk, technician or manager, but will assert itself only through highly qualified workers, operating on the principle of socialist large-scale production. This principle must be respected also when training new, young workers and also with regard to those who are already employed in the working process. At issue is, on the one hand, consistent raising of qualifications and, on the other, the surmounting of certain psychological impediments which part of the management, the industrial engineers, the technicians and the workers too have brought and are bringing with them from the environment of small-scale production. With this in mind, and especially in Slovakia, we must purposefully foster a feeling for precision, for technological and working discipline on the whole, for good quality and highly cultural work. By no means in the last place, it is a matter of cultivating and fully forming the awareness of the worker, his consciousness of belonging to the working class, to the revolutionary movement in the world, training him for collectivism, for comradeship and an understanding of the social status of the working class in our socialist society. In this country too are valid the words of Comrade Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of the CPSU when he said: "The leading role of the

working class as the builder of communism will strengthen according to how its general culture, its education and its political activity is raised."

Comrades,

The fifty-year history of the Party is a continuous struggle for the Party to be the true avantgarde of the society, for the implementation of Leninism in our Party. It has been both a struggle against inflexibility at work, a struggle to overcome dogmatism in thinking, in methods and styles of work, and, in particular, against arbitrariness, petty-bourgeois views, individualism, social-democratism and opportunism. The efforts of the Party to rectify mistakes which were mainly concentrated at the January Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1968, were essential because the Leninist principles and norms were being increasingly abandoned and this led the Party into passivity and crisis. These efforts did not lead to success, and the hopes of members of the Party, which were raised after the January Plenary Session, were unfulfilled in part also because we had erroneously elected Dubček to the head of the Party, who had, as it proved, himself forsaken Leninism and was incapable of leading the Party to revolutionary activity. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia succeeded after April 1969 in leading the society out of crisis especially because it put into practice the Leninist principles, that it was and is guided by the teachings of Lenin.

It was not the rightwing opportunists who led the Party out of passivity but the Party leadership after April 1969, by its consistent policy which began shaping the activity of the Party. Communists in Slovakia are resolved to support and implement this line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to fight for the principles of inner-Party life - democratic centralism, inner-

Party democracy, collective leadership and its Leninist content and spirit - being introduced into daily activity. The Leninist content of inner-Party relationships is a condition for the unity of the Party, but so, too, is the implementation of the leading role of the Party through influencing the masses. In mass political work the example of a communist is irreplaceable. Party bodies in Slovakia are therefore supporting accentuation of membership in the Party as well as further suggestions for amendments in the Party Statutes in the way that was presented to Party bodies and delegates to the Congress. We give full support to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in its consistent endeavours to place management on a scientific basis, to rationalize management and to expand the purposefulness and planning activity of the Party. We see in this a way of avoiding mistakes and subjectivism, of making the best use of the initiative of the people, sources and technology. We see in this, finally, also an important front for the struggle against the rightwing. The purposeful policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is gaining in Slovakia too, the increasing confidence and support of people who are not Party members. A more favourable situation is arising for taking in new members of the Party and strengthening Party influence mainly in those sectors where there are still tangible shortcomings or where we are facing important tasks. In the preparation and selection of new candidate-members and members of the Party, the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia oriented Party bodies and organizations towards strengthening the workers' core by taking in more workers and members of cooperatives, particularly young people. Our experience, the experience of the international workers' movement, as well as the Leninist teaching on the Party, confirm that the action-ability of the Party, the successes and unity of the working class, can be achieved only under the condition in which there is only

one, uniform Communist Party in one country. That is why the Communist Party of Slovakia is and will be a firm, militant detachment of the uniform Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. That is why we agree to and fully support that even under the conditions of the federative structure of the State, we have the uniform Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as it is also embodied in the Party Statutes.

Comrades,

Allow me in conclusion to say a few words on the problems of State sovereignty. We have heard and are still hearing grand lessons on this theme from bourgeois ideologists - but not only from them. The anti-communist ideological workshops and their lackeys cannot discourse otherwise and neither do we expect anything else from them. But allow us to tell these class and specifically historic categories our experiences too, how our working people view them. The Slovak nation as well as the fraternal Czech nation, has fought for centuries to preserve national existence. The fascist Hitlerite plans even included plans for the extermination of the Czechs and Slovaks as nations and realization of this plan was even begun. That is why the arrival of the Soviet partisans and later the Soviet Army on our territory was not seen by anyone as a loss of State sovereignty, but the contrary. Our State sovereignty was returned to us only with the help of the Soviet Army. Dialectics teach us that social revolutionary practice is not only the criterion of the veracity of knowledge but also a source of knowledge. Therefore we see an organic relationship between the Bratislava Conference in 1968 and the assistance given in August 1968 by our allies.

On the basis of facts, proceeding from the interest of the people, of socialism, we understand it to have been in the interest of preserving the sovereignty of our homeland, and not the contrary, that our allies acted as they did and helped us in 1968. The Leninist project of the build-

ing of socialism has been fully proved in our country and we have no reason to be guided by the views of various improvers of socialism who deny the basic principles of the building of socialism. We estimate national freedom and State sovereignty according to which class is in power, how the development of the forces of production, culture and policy is carried out, how the certainty and prospects of the working people are ensured. And in our country the working people, headed by the working class and its Leninist party, are ruling and will rule. That is how we see the basic standpoint for evaluating national freedom and State sovereignty.

For decades, our whole Party has recognized the relationship to the Soviet Union as the fundamental criterion of proletarian internationalism. We have nothing to change in this criterion. At a time of sharp class struggle between socialism and capitalism and attacks of anti-communism against the socialist countries, when the bourgeoisie is trying to disrupt the relations among the socialist countries and is using all means to loosen relations towards the Soviet Union, we believe it essential to state emphatically that a person cannot be a sincere advocate of socialism, a sincere patriot and a true proletarian internationalist who does not defend and support the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union in their noble struggle for democracy, socialism and peace in the world.

Our Party has recognized and still recognizes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as our teacher. For decades throughout our Party the words of Comrade Gottwald have been and are being accepted with approval when he said that we are going to the Soviet Union to learn revolutionary methods. All the more is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our teacher and source of instruction at the present time when it has achieved tremendous successes in the building of socialism, in science, in technology, in the economy, successes that are recognized by the whole progressive world.

Comrades,

Allow me, in conclusion, to assure you, delegates to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, communists in Slovakia, will expend all our skill, all our ability and efforts for the implementation of the resolutions of the Congress, for the prosperity of our socialist homeland, for the strengthening of the unity of the working people of Czechoslovakia and the fraternal relations of our peoples as well as for sincere friendship with the Soviet Union.

secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, delivered
at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia

Dear comrades !

The report delivered by comrade Husák shows that the period we are now assessing is interwoven with important successes, possibilities and significant defeats. The working people of our country have made great efforts to improve their socialist homeland and it is to the detriment of the cause that after January 1968, when possibilities were created to multiply these results, they were not made use of. On the contrary, such a situation of crisis emerged and such political defeat was suffered that it endangered the very foundations of socialism and the existence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

All delegates to our Congress know about the danger which threatened our Republic and Party, they know about the great efforts which had to be made to return to the Communist Party its revolutionary honour and to restore its Marxist-Leninist character. They know what we had to do to save and strengthen socialist values in our country.

The internal crisis was logically also reflected in the foreign political sphere. Here, too, there was a gradual retreat from the fundamental Marxist-Leninist and internationalist principles laid down in the documents of the 13th Congress.

The revisionist and anti-socialist forces were working relentlessly to disrupt the basic foreign-political certainties of our country, among which the most important place is held by our alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other allied countries.

There was a serious breakdown in the Czechoslovak foreign political service. The right-wing opportunists, represented by Jiří Hájek, were already so bold that in defiance of orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the President of the Republic, they misused the forum of the United Nations against the interests of the Czechoslovak Republic and socialism.

When evaluating our recent internal and foreign political development, we can see that even then a tenacious struggle was waged between the progressive forces and international reaction, both inside the country and on an international scale. This is nothing new, nothing which the revolutionary movement did not know. For more than one hundred years, capitalism has been waging a merciless battle against Marxist ideas, and from the very first days of the birth of the new socialist State, against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In this merciless fight against the revolutionary forces and the Soviet Union they tried out and are using to this day all methods and weapons, from outrageous persecution to executions, murder, economic and ideological subversion, down to bribery and disrupting the revolutionary movement from within. Their success was crowned by the fact that they succeeded in disrupting the Social Democratic Party and the whole 2nd International. It is to the undying merit of V.I. Lenin that he cleansed the revolutionary teaching of the working class from the morass of opportunism and vindicated the vitality of Marxist ideas. Thanks to the creative development and application of Leninist ideas in the theory and practice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire international communist and revolutionary movement, Marxist-Leninist ideas have today become a force which inspires millions of people on all continents and decisively influences development of the world today.

During its development imperialism has already exposed itself to such an extent in the eyes of nations throughout the

world that it cannot openly proclaim its real interests and aims. It is forced to create an entire system of ideological myths, fabrications of quasi socialist form, which, however, are reactionary, anti-humanist and anti-peaceful in their essence. Outwardly they even cloak their classical anti-communist armoury in pseudo-socialist slogans. This is nothing but a continuation of the policy of deceiving the working people, of selling them old goods in a new, attractive wrapping.

The Czechoslovak example teaches a lesson in many respects, on how the right-wing opportunist forces at home and their allies from anti-communist centres in the West jointly proceeded in deceiving the working people in their effort to turn the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia into a shapeless, reformist, petty-bourgeois organisation. They did not fight openly against socialism and the Communist Party as such, but strove to push through their petty-bourgeois notions on socialism, defamed the history of the Party and its leading personalities, so as to weaken its leading position in society. They wanted to "improve" the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia so much that it would cease to fulfil its role as vanguard of the working class, as a Marxist-Leninist party and guarantee of alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

To make of the Marxist-Leninist party a petty-bourgeois, reformist organisation, while preserving the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, meant to distort the ideas of socialism, to bring chaos into the thinking and notions of the people about socialism, to rid the working class of its revolutionary vanguard, to prove as true their false theories that socialism could not work in an advanced industrial country. This caused tremendous harm not only to the working people of Czechoslovakia, but also to the socialist community and the entire communist and workers' movement.

A wise saying reminds us that "a wolf remains a wolf, no matter how beautiful the sheep's skin it dons". The slogan

of "socialism with a human face" was in fact a mask which was to disguise the real face of counter-revolution in this country. The Czechoslovak experiment was to become a new argument of the rightwing opportunists in favour of revising and distorting the Marxist-Leninist principles of building a socialist society.

Thanks to the Marxist-Leninist forces within our Party and society and the fraternal internationalist assistance, all their plans and hopes were thwarted. The failure of rightwing revisionism in the ranks of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia became, at the same time, also the defeat of international revisionism. This is why such a fierce and hostile campaign was unleashed against the Soviet Union and against the political line which began to be implemented in 1969 under the leadership of comrade Gustáv Husák.

The renegades in the communist movement - Goldstücker, Pelikán, Fischer, Garaudy - and various other rightwing social democrats, Trotskyites, veteran bourgeois baiters, fascists, zionists and reactionary clergy, all of them are shedding crocodile tears in moving unity over the fate of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Not even the schoolchildren in this country believe in their fears about socialism in Czechoslovakia. It is not hard to understand that if it were as bad with socialism as they claim, then they should not cry over it but should rejoice, because their activity was, is and will be aimed only at destroying socialism, or at least at weakening it. For this they are paid and kept by the anti-communist centres in the West. The very fact that the lamenting and weeping over the fate of socialism is done by those people whose programme is the utmost hatred of communists, and of everything progressive, illustrates conclusively what sort of "socialism" they wanted to set up in our country. Their weeping and sorrow is really lamentation over their own failure and lost hopes.

They may be able to temporarily damage the cause of socialism, as they did in Czechoslovakia, however no one will

be able to stop the victorious progress of socialism in the world. Our conviction of this does not stem from a sort of mystical incantation or a kind of modern religion, but from the profound cognisance of the laws of development of human society. Nothing really remains to those who have left and betrayed but to write and incite through Radio Free Europe, and, for Judas gold, to slander their own homeland. However, this can neither stop us on our road, nor make us nervous. Even in this case the slogan applies that "Dogs may bark but the caravan goes on".

This weeping and barking of theirs convinces us that our Party is pursuing a good policy. Were they praising us, then we should have to consider what we are doing wrong.

There were voices saying that anti-communists misused the Czechoslovak events in 1968. Yes, we Czechoslovak communists made a grave mistake in that we allowed ourselves to be lulled and that we did not notice in time the harmful activity of the right-wing revisionist and anti-socialist forces. At that time, however, the enemies of socialism at home or abroad were not criticising us, on the contrary they praised us. Unprincipledness, retreat from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, all this was passed off as an expression of the revival of socialism. It would be possible to quote entire volumes of their various programme declarations from which can be seen and understood the sort of human and democratic socialism they were interested in. In the chaos of that time, most people could not even read and listen to everything, to realise that socialism was in danger. It might not do any harm to publish a collection of these declarations with notes so many would realise what they have been applauding. Words are only words, no matter in what pretty phrases they are veiled. But the deeds which were to follow are well known to our people. That concentration camps were prepared for communists and progressive people - these are no conjectures but facts proved by documents bearing the signature of those whose

fate is being lamented most by the West. What kind of socialism is it when concentration camps are prepared for the builders of socialism ?

Today, many of those who were promising a sort of revived socialism in Czechoslovakia, and so as to deserve the money given them by their masters, are admitting that they never were communists, that they had joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia only to harm it and to have a better chance of distorting Marxism-Leninism, of discrediting the Party and of serving the anti-socialist forces. Pelikán - as he himself admits - is sorry that they were not able to start a civil war and reproaches Dubček for being a weakling because he had not the courage to launch an armed fight against our nearest friends.

The sort of democratic socialism, and what was to follow these ostentatious slogans, was probably most concisely formulated by J. Brodský, one of the leaders of K 231. In his book, which is widely publicised in the West, he cynically admits that "Everyone agreed with what he did not want - but they were less sure of what they wanted. However, we were unanimous in one thing: It is necessary to destroy the system, to root it out completely, to exterminate its bearers and executors".

This is a quite clear and understandable language. Were it not for the timely internationalist aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist allies, they would have fulfilled this programme without any hesitation.

The question of how it could happen that a threat of counter-revolution emerged in Czechoslovakia when the working class was in power, when the Communist Party was the leading force and the overwhelming majority of the working people were standing on the side of socialism, is answered in the Lesson and in the Report of the Central Committee delivered by comrade Husák. At the same time, we know that neither

the Lesson nor the Report can clarify the entire breadth and depth of the complex Czechoslovak crisis. This crisis arose not only through the faults of 1968, it was growing for a long time and therefore requires consistent knowledge of all objective and subjective causes. One of them is that ours is a young socialist society bearing all the characteristic marks of this youth. The spiritual history of mankind is thousands of years old, but the existence of the socialist system is only one thousandth of this period.

In life, in our work, in bringing up our children, we must never forget that we are living in a class-divided world. Our society and thinking contain many inherited positive and negative signs of the past. The new, the socialist which we are building can be attained only in battle with age-old customs. In the words of V.I.Lenin: our socialist society must also free itself from the iron shirt of various habits, traditions and prejudices.

Socialism is built, as V.I.Lenin stressed, with people as they were left us by capitalism. Even after the victorious socialist revolution the defeated bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois strata survives and acts which, assisted by their allies from the capitalist countries, are cleverly making use of all our shortcomings, petty-bourgeois habits and traditions, to distort socialist morale, relations between people and socialist patriotism.

The opponents of socialism had almost ideal conditions for this in our country. Czechoslovakia was one of the countries with a very broad stratum of petty-bourgeoisie, which is basically the most important bearer of negative prejudices and wavering and is very susceptible to spreading and creating demagoguery, anarchy and panic. We all remember how at the beginning of the revolutionary onset of the working class, and particularly after February 1948, this stratum actively joined in the battle to remove the bourgeoisie from its positions, and even joined the Communist Party thinking

more of its own selfish interests than of the interests of the working people.

If the Party does not engage in offensive political and ideological work against the petty-bourgeoisie ideology, as happened in this country, the result is the revival of nationalism, the spreading of so-called consumer socialism, which affects even a part of the working class. Petty-bourgeois morale, which is more convenient than communist morale, is asserted and sometimes even Party members easily succumb to it. We were able to convince ourselves how unstable an ally this stratum is for the working class. It supports the working class, the farmers, the Communist Party only if the road is without obstacles, when one is winning. However, as soon as difficulties, obstacles arise the petty-bourgeois stratum loses heart, gives way to anarchy and pessimism, calls the retreat and its leftist radicalism changes into rightist radicalism. It turns away from the policy of the Party and easily succumbs to various types of anti-socialist propaganda. It becomes an ally of the defeated bourgeoisie and the imperialist forces abroad. In joint procedure it creates a force, as the Czechoslovak events show, aimed against socialism, the Communist Party and finally ending with restricted nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

In the present situation, imperialism attaches greater importance to the attacks of revisionists, petty-bourgeois and nationalist elements in the revolutionary movement aimed at breaking up the unity of the socialist countries and the socialist internationalist foreign policy, rather than to immediate attacks against socialism by their own ideologists.

International reaction is fully aware that its mortal enemy is primarily the world socialist community, and the Soviet Union in particular. The Soviet Union is the main economic, political, military, ideological and moral force of the world revolutionary process. Thanks to this force mankind has been able to live in peace and quiet for more than a quarter of a century already. Such a long period of peace has not

been experienced in Europe for a long time. This is not based on the love of peace of the imperialist world, but on the might of the socialist camp, particularly of the Soviet Union whose power makes it impossible for the imperialists to put into practice their aggressive plans of ruling the world. The Soviet people have been and are still carrying an enormous burden on their shoulders, they are making great sacrifices in the interest of world peace and progress for which esteem and appreciation is due to them by all peaceloving and progressive people in the world. Soviet communists and the Soviet people are continuously developing and enriching Leninist teaching by new experience gained in socialist and communist construction. This life-giving Leninist force was and is a thorn in the eye of world imperialism and all right-wing opportunist and anti-socialist forces. It will be the task not only of the newly elected Central Committee but also of all bodies and organisations, of every communist, no matter in what sector he may work, of every honest citizen who loves socialism not only to destroy but to tear out with the roots and burn the weed of anti-Sovietism, which the right-wing revisionists have artificially cultivated in previous years, so that it may never sprout again in our socialist homeland.

It would be wrong if we were to rest on our laurels think that everything is already in order. Imperialism does not for a moment cease to battle with all means against socialism, in our country as well. It will attempt to put the broken centres together, to seek out those offended and dissatisfied, and we can be sure that they will not spare financial means either. All of us know that there are such who are able to quickly adapt themselves to any period, and if there would be a new chance they would again show their anti-socialist face. We are trying and shall continue to try to win over everyone who is for socialism, even if he did err for a certain time. It would be silly and ridiculous of us to try to discuss and convince the representatives of right-wing opportunism,

revisionism and the organisers of the counter-revolution. Against them we have waged and will continue to wage an irreconcilable struggle.

In the broad spectrum of demagogies and illusions with which the right-wing opportunist forces manipulated, a particularly important place was held by speculations and fantasies concerning the significance of Czechoslovakia's position in Europe and the world. The extremely nationalist and boastful approach to international problems did great harm not only to us but also to the revolutionary movement as such.

We should not forget that the greatness, strength, progressiveness of our socialist State does not result from its geographical position, but is determined mainly by its place in the class struggle between socialism and imperialism, by its firm embodiment in the system of the world socialist community.

We must never again allow any belittling of the role of the anti-imperialist front and accept in a non-class way the bourgeois evaluation of the present world development. The false make-believe that we can stand above the world class struggle, leads to nothing else than providing scope and facilitating free action to the counter-revolutionary forces. We communists can never stand aside. Communists must by words, deeds and work commit themselves in the fight against the exploitation of man, for the rights of the working people, for progress and peace in the world. Experience has taught us that we must not allow the fanning of nationalism, in no matter what form and shape it may appear, because this is one of the fundamental means of battle used by the right-wing ideologists against the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Any deviation from these principles leads only to the adjustment of Marxism-Leninism to petty-bourgeois and nationalist egoism.

The foreign political activity of the right-wing opportunists in the leadership of the Party and the State in the

period of crisis can, without exaggeration, be considered a grandiose political fraud against the working people carried out with a great deal of demagogy. We have drawn the necessary conclusions from this. Almost a quarter of the personnel in the foreign service has had to leave, and it is our task to take such political-organisational measures which would prevent this happening ever again. In the services of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in foreign trade and other services in this sphere, only such people can be employed who besides being expertly well prepared are unreservedly dedicated to the cause of socialism, their socialist homeland and friendship with the Soviet Union.

It is no secret that there were and still are efforts to bring our Party and Republic into certain isolation in international relations. These plans failed just because our foreign political course after April 1969 was purposefully based on the vital cohesion of our Party and Republic with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet State and other socialist countries, as well as with the entire international communist and revolutionary movement.

An expression and verification of this principled internationalist course was the signing of the new Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union, on May 6th last year.

This Treaty confirms all values expressed in the Treaty of December 12th 1943, which are inseparable from the building of socialist Czechoslovakia, since 1945.

The new Treaty corresponds to the degree of socialist development attained in our country. We regard it as a fundamental programme document which expresses the basic tasks of socialist internationalism, serving the benefit of the nations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The right-wing revisionist and anti-socialist forces at home and abroad are abusing us, that we are again joined

in firm bonds with Moscow. Our internal and foreign political line is clear. We are not hiding it, on the contrary, everywhere and to anyone we are telling openly: We are going, and shall always go alongside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, as a faithful and dedicated brother and ally.

Through our own dearly paid experiences we have convinced ourselves where non-respect of the fundamental facts can lead, that we are living in a class-divided world. Therefore, we want everything that we do and create to serve the common cause of socialism, progress and the world revolutionary struggle. This policy creates favourable conditions for a calm construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and is in harmony with the interests of the working people and with the interests of the world revolutionary process.

The results which we achieved in the foreign political sphere since April 1969 are dealt with in detail in the foreign political part of the written report to the 14th Congress as well as in the report delivered by comrade Husák.

In comrade Husák's report fundamental standpoints, mainly on international problems, were specified as well as the role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the State bodies in the foreign political sphere. This shows that our foreign political programme has an unambiguously constructive peaceful character. We shall consistently pursue this line in relation to all parties and States. With the other socialist countries, we shall continue to strengthen the international positions of socialism, ensure the security of nations, fight against imperialism, neo-colonialism and safeguard peace in the world. We want to make still better use of our possibilities in the interest of the common cause.

It is not our fault that relations with our western neighbour - the Federal Republic of Germany - are not normalised. Our standpoint to the Federal Republic of Germany has

been clearly defined by comrade Husák. It does no harm to recall that almost thirty-three years have passed since the Munich crime, and that the Czechoslovak people can never accept the theory of "the fault being on both sides", as advocated in the Federal Republic of Germany, and of a sort of "mutual presentation of accounts"; that no understanding for the Munich approach to the liquidation of the Munich crime will ever be found in this country. Our nations are not calling for revenge, they are not interested in fostering distrust towards the Federal Republic of Germany. It is known that our nations have never threatened and do not threaten their western neighbour. On the contrary, extreme danger has always threatened us only from this side and, even today, hostile propaganda is being broadcast by various radio stations and news agencies on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany against Czechoslovakia and socialism for dozens of hours every day. It is, unfortunately, a hard fact that in not quite one hundred years German imperialism has waged five wars. Three of these directly concerned the fate of our country. The cemeteries of the victims of German militarism are scattered all over Europe. The losses suffered by the Czech and Slovak nations through Hitlerite fascism cannot be enumerated or compensated in anyway. The crime of Munich can never be circumvented or silenced.

Dear Comrades,

Many fantastic speculations and prognoses sprang up among our opponents at home and abroad around the 14th Congress. With really morbid passion and so as to satisfy various petty-bourgeois instincts and wishes, they are fabricating and sending into the ether various legends, forecasts and so-called authentic information about struggles for power in this country, about who wants to check-mate whom, who is against whom, who is the friend and enemy of whom and who is striving for what.

It is really comical how tenaciously they are working according to the slogan of: "Wishful thinking".

Apart from other things, this is because they failed to draw a lesson, because they judge matters in this country according to their own bourgeois morals, in which homo homini lupus. However, they have no knowledge of the morals and psychology of communists and socialist man, and this is why their forecasts are not and cannot be correct. Their notions and forecasts are made to fit communists as they would like to have them, those to which they gave hospitality in August 1968, for instance Pelikán, Goldstücker, Löbl, Šik and others who, as they themselves have shown, have never been communists. They carried a Party membership card only because we were not vigilant enough. But this cannot apply to real communists, who stand on positions of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of communist morale. One forecast will certainly be fulfilled, even though against their will. The following prognosis on the 14th Congress was broadcast by Vienna: "If 1,400 delegates would give Husák a vote confidence they would confirm him in his function and strengthen his authority". I am deeply convinced that this will happen, because comrade Husák fully deserves it for the work he has accomplished.

We, Czechoslovak communists, who have gone through a difficult historic trial, are not and will not fight among ourselves for any post, position or any other status. We are fighting and will continue to fight anyone who would again want to disrupt our Party, our socialist homeland and our friendship with the Soviet Union. We are striving for the leading role of our Party, for the position of the working class, for socialism, for the prosperity of our homeland, for friendship with the Soviet Union, for the well-being of the working man and world peace.

Everyone who helps to achieve these noble aims, no matter who he may be, has the possibility of applying all his creative powers, abilities and initiative without restriction.

Our Party and socialist society are helping such people, are relying on them and with their help are forming our future.

The 14th Congress closes a difficult and complicated period in the life of our Party and society. It was a period which verified and disclosed human and social values. We are happy that all that is sound in the Party and society has stood the test, that today with full responsibility we may declare before our people and face to face with the international communist movement, that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is entering the second half-century of its history as a party organisationally and ideologically united, capable of fulfilling tasks which are more exacting than those of the past fifty years.

Bourgeois experts on Czechoslovakia are now stressing that the 14th Congress will not be a congress of consolidation but a congress of thanksgiving. One is connected with the other. Yes, we are giving thanks to every one who has honestly marched in the ranks of the Party, along its heroic and self-sacrificing road, who has helped to build socialism, who has helped to defend the achievements of our people, who has helped to avert the counter-revolution. We are giving thanks to all who helped to return to the Party its Marxist-Leninist character and to restore the social and legal certainties of our people. This helped the 14th Congress to lay down further tasks in the further development of socialist society.

The tasks laid down by our 14th Congress can be successfully fulfilled only if we shall correctly connect our internal problems with the entire international anti-imperialist revolutionary movement. It would be very shortsighted to close ourselves up, to see only our own factory enterprise, our own village, town, district, region, our own Slovakia, our own Bohemia or Republic and to ignore the efforts and struggles of other socialist countries and millions of people fighting for their social and national freedom.

Only within this united revolutionary world current, of which we are part, do we wish to march in unity, bear our share and spare no efforts for the well-being of our socialist homeland, for the victory of the ideas of socialism, communism and peace in the world.

REPORT OF THE DRAFTING COMMISSION OF THE 14th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

delivered by comrade Alois INDRA, secretary
of the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of Czechoslovakia

Comrades delegates, dear guests, The drafting commission has been working in the spirit of Leninist principles of inner-Party life and is submitting draft proposals to you, which in our opinion are in full keeping with the views of the 14th Congress of our Party.

The report by the Central Committee on the activity of the Party and development of society since the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and on other tasks of the Party, which was delivered by comrade Husák, evaluates consistently, objectively and in accordance with historic facts, the most complicated and instructive period in the fifty years' history of our Party. In the discussion delegates voiced their agreement with the appraisal of the past period and with the specification of the main tasks of the Party and the whole socialist society in the next five years.

The drafting commission is of the opinion that in view of the fundamental significance of the report it will be correct to confirm it in the Congress resolution, and to commit the Party to be guided by its content in its practical work. Likewise, we recommend that the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission delivered by comrade Jakeš be approved.

The Central Committee of the Party, under the leadership of comrade Husák has kept its word given in April and May 1969. He has led the Party and society out of the profound crisis. He has restored Leninist norms of Party life and the fundamental values of socialism in the activity of the State and its bodies, in management of the national economy, in work in the National Front and in influencing the means of mass education and information.

Life itself has confirmed that the Central Committee laid down a correct strategy and chose an effective and flexible tactic. The right-wing was defeated here in tough political struggle and the Marxist-Leninist Left came out victorious.

In organizing this hard struggle the Central Committee did not concede to bureaucratic centralism, it did not tend towards senseless administration, it did not break away from the Party and took care that the aims and meaning of its policy were understood by the working people. The course of exchanging Party membership-cards, the annual membership meetings, district and regional conferences and then the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia showed convincingly that the Party has cleansed itself, that it is again politically, ideologically and organizationally united, that it supports and realizes the policy of its Central Committee.

The drafting commission therefore recommends to the Congress that, as the supreme body of the Party, it approves the political line and tactical course pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia since April 1969, including the coopting of Marxist-Leninist forces into the Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

We consider it especially important to approve the methods applied and results in exchanging membership-cards, which formed the basic condition for the return of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to a consistent application of principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Our Party and society has recently had to pay dearly for having abandoned Leninist principles of Party life and socialist construction. It has had to pay bitterly for insufficient ideological vigilance, modesty, and inconsistency in applying the leading role of the Party, indecision in fighting the bloc of antisocialist forces. We were only

saved from the full outbreak of counter-revolution by the timely assistance of our most faithful allies.

The drafting commission is of the opinion that, from the aspect of historic truth, it is correct for the Congress to explicitly appreciate in its resolution the international help given us in August 1968 by the governments and Parties of the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

Our experiences are correctly and clearly contained in the Lesson Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, approved at the December plenum of the Central Committee, which the whole Party accepted with agreement. The Lesson is no so-called ordinary document, it should be not only a permanently valid resolution but primarily a guideline for daily practice. The Lesson must not fall into oblivion, just as we Czechoslovak communists must never forget the experiences of 1968 and 1969.

Therefore the drafting commission believes it will be correct for the Congress to endorse the validity and permanent obligatory character of the Lesson. Among other things experience teaches us that justified self-confidence and pleasure from results achieved must not change into overestimation of successes. We must continually mobilize the Party, self-satisfaction must never find a place with us, we must never again get stuck in the mire of formalism.

In keeping with the report by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the activity of the Party and with the Congress proceedings we, in the drafting commission, have tried to express the present and future tasks in such a way as to make it quite clear that one of the most important tasks is complete the defeat of right-wing revisionism and opportunism. We are determined to never again

give the right-wing any chances. For this very reason the draft resolution concentrates attention upon a basic and timely solution being found to all acute problems, to creatively enlarging upon the generally valid principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings in accordance with the constantly growing demands of developing Czechoslovak socialist society.

It applies to our whole life that to get stuck and to mark time means to make mistakes and to add grist to the mill of our enemies. Lenin, as is known, considered the economic plan to be the Party's second programme. If the Party wants to fulfil its historic mission it must direct in a planned way and carefully ensure the development of the national economy, the growth of the people's living standard connected with it and the upsurge of culture and general education.

The drafting commission had the advantage in its work that the directives on the Five-Year Plan were published well ahead. The regional and district Party committees expressed their views on them, the Revolutionary Trade Union movement, the Socialist Union of Youth, the Czechoslovak Union of Women and political parties all sent their views in to the Central Committee. The lively interest in the economic policy of the Party was confirmed by the response from various aktivs, by letters from workers and delegates to our Congress. The orientation expressed in the directives was received everywhere with understanding and was supported not only by words but by innumerable pledges in which the workers demonstrate their resolution to actively contribute towards fulfilling the tasks planned. Fundamental suggestions were worked into the version of the directives submitted and the drafting commission recommends the Congress to approve them.

Many other suggestions will be of help to the State and economic bodies when elaborating and fulfilling the Five-

Year Plan. We have clearly convinced ourselves over the past years that the leading political force of the socialist society can be only the Party which is guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and takes care of its ideological, political, organizational and action unity. The organized, political vanguard of the working class and the working people can only be a Party built upon and working in the spirit of Leninist norms of inner-Party life. Democratic centralism, and inner-Party democracy, conscious firm discipline, criticism and self-criticism, collective decision-making and personal responsibility are characteristic of the new type of revolutionary party, the model of which is the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The condition for our complete victory over the right-wing and for all our future successes is to guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye, to continually strengthen and intensify it. The drafting commission assumes that the Congress will consider it correct to endorse the permanent binding character of the resolution on topical questions of Party unity, which was approved by the Central Committee at its December plenary session last year.

Many comrades have quite rightly stressed in the Congress discussion that the key question in Party work is that of cadre policy, that is selection, purposeful training and well-deliberated appointment of people.

Cadres, after all, decide on the success of Party policy. It all depends upon their political maturity, upon how they understand the policy of the Party, upon their capability as experts and personal self-sacrifice, upon their art of managing and winning over people, whether the political line and practice coincide and whether words do not differ from deeds. To underrate the basic demands on cadres, to abandon the gauging of loyalty to the working class and political steadiness, modesty in demands and favouritism, were undoub-

tedly some of the main reasons for our many difficulties before 1968 and for our recent crisis.

We must judge everyone according to the actual results of his own work, we have no need for turncoats and careerists who when changing course follow whatever trend may be fashionable and are no more than reeds rustling at the slightest breeze.

The resolution of the Party Central Committee Presidium of November 6th 1970 on cadre work, necessarily restores Leninist principles, and is in keeping with experience acquired and with the high demands placed upon the present and future years. Therefore, we recommend that its validity be endorsed by the 14th Congress in its resolution. The fundamental law of the inner life of the Party are its Statutes. In future there can be no appeasement with what has been, which was regrettably so typical for so many years. Every member must know the Statutes, respect them and adhere to them. Every organ and every organization must be guided by them and ensure that they are applied to full extent.

I should like to inform all guests from home and abroad, that at today's closed session the 14th Congress has unanimously approved the draft on partial changes in the Statutes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The changes which have been made put emphasis on the Leninist norms of inner-Party life, raise the demands placed upon members and bodies of the Party and express the experience summarized in the Lesson. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence, the drafting commission tried to express in the draft resolution the position and mission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the international communist movement and the principles of the foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

For us the corner-stone remains the relationship towards the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party, the indestructible loyalty and fraternal collaboration with this our teacher, liberator and most faithful ally.

During our Congress praise was quite rightfully expressed for the inspiring influence which the results of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have for the life of our Party and for socialist Czechoslovakia. This view of the Congress was binding for the drafting commission. We are pleased to state that the results of the Congress of Soviet communists were also a significant help to us in our work in the commission.

Comrades!

The Congress has received 143 appeals in membership matters. The drafting commission recommends that, according to the Statutes, they be sent for examination and assessment to the Central Committee of the Party and to the Central Control and Auditing Commission. The drafting commission and its working groups have carefully dealt with all suggestions submitted in writing by the Congress delegates and have made use of the proposals advanced in the discussion. All of the suggestions showed singular concern that the Congress resolution be elaborated in such a way as to conform with our needs and possibilities, and that it should be an effective instrument in mobilizing the whole Party and society for the fulfilment of the exacting tasks of the next five years. The suggestions which were of no basic significance or which the commission decided were not to be included in the resolution, have been discussed with their authors.

The drafting commission recommends the Congress to approve the draft resolution in the version presented.

At the same time it asks that consent be given for minor stylistic alterations to be made by the Presidium of the newly elected Central Committee.

Comrades, each one of us certainly realizes the importance of elaborating and approving a fundamental and correct resolution. We also appreciate that work does not end but begins with the approval of the resolution. To fill the text of the resolution with life means to ensure that the whole Party and people not politically affiliated should know and understand the content and meaning of the resolution. The means to organize its fulfilment perseveringly and cleverly, to control it strictly and make no concessions to anyone. Let the fulfilment of the Congress resolution become a test of our political class consciousness and organizational abilities, a test of our loyalty to the Party and the working class, of our faithfulness to the bonds of alliance with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union.

Only under these conditions will the 14th Congress go down in history as a respectable beginning of the next fifty years of our Party's life. Only in this way shall we finally defeat right-wing revisionism, only in this way shall we really be taking the Leninist road to further development of our socialist homeland.

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